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STUDIES
ON
NORTHERN MYTHOLOGY.

PROF. S. BUGGE'S

STUDIES ON NORTHERN MYTHOLOGY

SHORTLY EXAMINED.

BY

PROF. DR. GEORGE STEPHENS, F. S. A. LOND., EDINB. &C.

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS.



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TO

THE DANISH OLD-LORIST

J. J. A. W O R S A A E

THANKFULLY AND RESPECTFULLY

INSCRIBED.

PROF. S. BUGGE'S STUDIES ON NORTHERN
MYTHOLOGY.

By Prof. Dr. GEORGE STEPHENS, F. S. A..

These remarks are my 8 public English Lectures on this subject in the University of Copenhagen, from April 4 to May 6, 1881. They are here printed as they were delivered¹⁾. But the Notes and *original* Extracts were of course *not redd* when the Lectures were given.

As I had to follow Prof. Bugge more or less page by page, my argument is not always sharply centralized, tho there are no repetitions of any consequence. To facilitate reference, I have therefore added a short Index.

Kjøbenhavn, May 1882.

I. NEW THEORIES.

In Science every larger question must be handled with a wide induction and practical grip, in a word with that solid and comprehensive sweep of knowledge and intuitive

¹⁾ As both the Author and Prof. Bugge have exprest the wish that these Lectures should be publisht exactly as they were delivered, no effort has been made to persuade the Author to modify particular expressions (See »Fædrelandet» (Copenhagen) 5 and 9 of May 1881).

The Secretary.

feeling and daily experience whose result, in its nobler form, we call *Common Sense*. Else we are always liable to fantasies and fallacies. A *paradox* may *often* be a mere reaction. It is sometimes an original or good idea imperfectly graspt or carried to excess. Usually it ends in nothing of lasting value.

The starter of a new paradox may be gifted and full of research. But if he cannot hold his balance, cannot understand proportion and the fitness of things, no amount of reading and ingenuity can enable him to establish what is radically unsound. At the same time such out-of-the-way efforts may open new fields of thought, or the talent of the innovator often brings together new combinations of *old* material or welcome store of *new*, and we may thus thankfully learn in detail where we cannot accept the whole superstructure. In the clash of thought and battle of argument Truth at last — some day or other — will win, and when the dust of the fight has settled down, we see that both were right or neither, or that there was something good amid the bad. In this particular dispute it is a pleasure to cross swords — in all kindliness — with a learned friend who is so worthy of my steel.

Professor Bugge's first Part.

A distinguisht scholar, then, has brought before us a new theory as to the origin of the Northern Mythology. It is now some years since he first proposed it, and it has excited great agitation in cultivated Europe. His book has long been promist. At last it lies before us. But it is not his book; it is only the first fragment¹⁾, perhaps about the 8th part of the whole. When the rest will appear, we are

¹⁾ Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse. Første Række. Af Sophus Bugge, Professor ved Christiania Universitet. Første Hefte. Christiania 1881. 8vo. Pp. 1—80.

not told; maybe in a year or two¹). It is useless to ask *why* the writer, after waiting so long, did not wait a little longer, and so publish the whole at once. We should then have been able to master his argument better, balance his proofs, accept or reject his details in a systematic way. Meantime the question arises, are we to be debarred, prohibited, from touching his new revolutionary ideas before his two Series are before us in a complete shape, or may we examine his scheme at once? In my opinion we may do so, and we *ought* so to do. We *may*, because the whole scheme is here substantially before us, this first Part of 80 pages containing what we may call the writer's *Prolegomena*, his general views, as well as the treatment in full of at least one myth; — and we *ought*, if we think him mistaken, at once to protest against a method in our opinion untrustworthy, unscientific and injurious to sound learning. There is no reason why we should allow the foundations of yet another — ology to be needlessly unsettled, and let a long long time elapse before we dare to open our lips against it.

Besides this, I myself have a special right and call to lose no time in entering on this discussion; for, an important section of the argument rests upon *details of fact* which concern myself personally. If *I* am *right*, the new scheme is *certainly* wrong; if *I* am *wrong*, it may so far have a chance of being right. The sooner, therefore, we calmly investigate how matters really stand, the better.

The unpleasantness of so much in modern criticism, in all lands and in all sciences, is the unbearably arrogant tone so often employed. When Jupiter shook his locks, all Olympus trembled; but when many of the new school shake their heads, heaven and earth pass away, and all FACTS disappear to the limbo whence they came. This system of

¹) April 1882. Part 2, pp. 81—288, has since been printed. But with this I do not meddle.

supercilious slaughter — *one line* of supreme Ban taking the place of all argument, I for my part am not inclined patiently to submit to. I do not choose, for a couple of years longer — or however long the time may be before the last page of Prof. Bugge's last part is printed — that my name should figure over Europe and America, as that of a man who has committed the grossest mistakes both in realities and in judgment. I have as much right to lecture in this University *in defence*, as Prof. Bugge had to lecture in Upsala *in attack*; I have as much right to print in Denmark *in defence*, as he has to print in Norway *in attack*. I know of no land or age where *Self-defence* has not been permitted.

True it is, that *errare humanum est*. We all may commit faults. And we all know the strange facility with which modern omnipotent philologists have changed their opinions, while at the same time each following Pope has excommunicated his fore-ganger. Only, the mischief is, that each decree is equally *infallible* as long as it lasts — and it sometimes may last a long while. But it is the first duty and the greatest pleasure of every gentleman, when better informed, to admit his error, and, as far as he can, to make it right again. This I have already done more than once, and — should these observations be found to have mist their aim — I shall be most happy to do so once more. The great object of us all is — the advancement of Truth, of sound Knowledge and of Good Will among men.

I therefore advance these remarks with all due respect to my antagonist, and with all fitting reservation and humility. I do not pretend to grasp all the many branches of proof introduced by the able Professor. I am merely a student. But, as to what I fancy I know a *little* of, I have a *great* respect for exactness and for Facts, and a very *small* regard for the many mushroom guesses which it is now the fashion to bandy about so loosely.

Professor Bugge's new Theory.

What, then, is the new start or combination which Prof. Bugge calls upon us to accept? It is, in few words, that the Northern Mythology, properly so called, is for the *most* part or a *very large* part the result of accretions and imitations in the 9th and 10th centuries after Christ, the outcome of fragments and tales, Classical and Christian, pickt up chiefly in England and Ireland by Wiking adventurers, and gradually elaborated by them and their wise men and scalds at home or in their colonies.

It is evident from this, that the materials so employed cannot be later than about the year 800. But our author says that it is not therefore his meaning that heathen Classical Godlore at that time flourisht in the west. Nor does he pretend to show that Irish or Keltic lands really had God-tales at all like those of Scandinavia. The hints and bits used by the Northmen were therefore only waifs and strays, which they had learned from manuscripts or men in their wanderings and war-raids.

The Background.

But all this must have a background. I therefore turn to what we call "the previous question", the actual state of things, the FACTS on which we must build, if we are to build at all.

1. *How old is the Iron Age in Scandinavia?* — There is one red thread running thro nearly all the modern Scandinavian archæological school, namely, that everything later than Bronze in Scandinavia, the whole civilisation-group of what we call the Early and Middle Iron Age, is so *modern*. A good many years ago, in my own time, the Scandinavian old-lorists laid it down as indisputable, that *the Iron Age* in these Northern countries began in the 8th century after Christ. Gradually, the ruling leaders have been going back, so that at present they fix its commencement in the 2nd century after Christ. The Danish archæologist Worsaae,

however, in his very last work («Nordens Forhistorie», Kjøbenhavn 1881, p. 112), boldly flings it back to the time of Christ, in my eyes a long tho still insufficient step in the right direction¹⁾. And so with the earliest Scandian

¹⁾ These Lectures were written before the publication of Worsaae's book. The above notice is the only extract. Since then have appeared Nos. 103 and 104 of «Månadsbladet», Stockholm, containing an important paper by the Swedish archaeologist Dr. Oscar Montelius. At p. 99 he now admits that Iron must have been in use, at least in South Scandinavia, 200 years *before* Christ. Thus in my own time some Scandian old-lorists have gone back 1000 winters as to the age of Iron in their lands. But we shall have to retrograde some centuries more. I have this moment (April 15, 1881) seen «Journal Officiel de la République Française», for April 6, 1881. At p. 1860—2 is a most interesting article by Ferdinand Delaunay, on the life and discoveries of the great French Orientalist Oppert. We here learn that this distinguisht Assyriologue has just made a new and surprising find. He has been able to decipher a Royal Tablet from the 10th century before Christ, which shows that Asiatic Caravans («des caravanes asiatiques») then travest those lands which are now called European Russia, following the Rivers, to procure Yellow Amber («l'Ambre jaune») on the coasts of the Baltic. The merchants of the Asiatic King said, that they collected this material in those seas where the little Bear was in zenith («dans les mers ou la petite Ourse est au zenith»), that is, where they were no longer quite sure how they were to steer. Delaunay adds, that thus these Asiatics were the predecessors of the Miletians and other travelers of whom Herodotus speaks. The Assyrian text thus throws light unexpectedly on the commercial movements in Northern Europe, at a time when silence otherwise reigns thereon.

But I think that we may bring confirmation of Prof. Oppert's brilliant identification from Scandinavia itself. In 1875 Colonel Hanbury exhibited in London his famous Assyrian Bronze SABRE (Assyrian SAPARA), found at Nardi in Arabia, the only one then known. It has an inscription in the arrow-headed characters, showing that it was a Palace sword in the time of king Vul-nirari 1300 years before Christ. In the Swedish «Månadsblad», Nr. 97, (1880), p. 12, the

Iron-age Ornamentation. Its types are not allowed to be older than about a couple or three hundred years after Christ, and are said to have a «Classical» origin, by «Classical» being meant «Roman» or «Provincial Roman». In like manner the theory has been revived that *the Runic Alphabet*, the art of *Writing*, was a loan, invented or adopted some where in the south and west — tho *where* no one can tell — by building on the Roman letters as developed in the days of the first Emperors; these Runes not being introduced into Scandinavia till the 3rd post-Christian age or

Swedish Riks-antiquary Hans Hildebrand has figured and described a Bronze Sabre, of the same general type as Colonel Hanbury's and certainly equally Asiatic, found in Heda Parish, East-Gotland, Sweden. It is now in the Stockholm Museum. This extraordinary weapon, so unlike anything previously seen in Europe, excited great astonishment and remained a mystery.

Now in my opinion the remarkable inscription interpreted by Oppert, showing the visits of regular Merchant-Caravans in these countries 1000 years before Christ, is the key to the Assyrian Sabre found in Sweden. Add to this, that a costly Jewel of Indian Jade, beautifully polished and ornamented, has been lately found in Sealand, Denmark, and that this piece can only be explained by supposing it to have come from Assyria.

But I need not remark, that when these rich merchants visited Scandinavia they did not come empty-handed. They carried with them the productions of their own land, Metals, Jewels, Spices and other Luxuries, for the wealthy and show-loving Bronze-using population. As to Iron, the Assyrians and Egyptians were familiar with this metal more than 1000 years before the date of Oppert's tablet.

Thus here suddenly opens to us another source whence new elements of Culture and God-lore and ornamentation may possibly have reached Scandinavia, at a period far older than has hitherto been dreamt of. See also, as to Assyrian types even high up in Siberia and its neighborhood, the remarks of the learned Finnish Archæologist J. R. Aspelin, at p. 46, Part 1 (Helsingfors 1877) of his noble folio: «Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien.»

later. As to the Runes, which I have studied minutely for more than 40 years, what would be said if I were to lay it down that they were found out by Noah in the Ark, and that they are even now in use in all Europe and Asia and Africa and America? Yet, if we really must not follow known facts, assertions like these are as reasonable as any other. In connection with this, I add one other remark. It is true that half-a-dozen loose Jewels have turned up in what is now called »Germany«. But Scandinavians went to »Germany« and elsewhere, then as now. And many of these loose things are found in lands not then, or for hundreds of years after, »German«. We are really not so simple as, for the sake of a groundless theory, to confound the Gothic March with »Germany«. If this »Germany« were to seize Finland tomorrow, all its old-laves would not, the day after, be »German«. Among crowds of other antiquities from all lands, thousands of Roman silver Denarii, from about the 3rd century, have been found in the island of Gotland; thousands of silver Arabic Cufic Dirhems; thousands of Old-English silver Pennies, etc. But I never yet found any one bold enough to say, that in the 3rd and 4th century the Gotlanders had themselves *struck* these wanderers, the property of travelers and merchants; or that in the 8th and 9th they had *struck* the Arabic Dirhems; or that in the 10th and 11th they had *struck* the English coinage. But the longer we live, the more we learn. Perhaps some new theorist will one day advance this paradox also. Why not? It is as reasonable as that a Danish Dannebrog-Cross or sword or Psalm-book, found in the portmanteau of a Danish traveler or officer deceased in »Germany« — should therefore be the work of a »German« artist for domestic »German« use. Besides tens of thousands of objects found in what is now Germany, great numbers of Scandinavian olden Coins, particularly Norse and Danish, are continually being dug up there. Many of these even bear Scandinavian

runic inscriptions. Were all these pieces also made by Germans in Germany for German use?

As then *Iron*, its *Ornamentation*, and its great characteristic *the Runes* are all so new, why should not the striking God-lore of the Scandinavians also be *modern*? Accordingly it is now announced that the Northern Mythology, in its great features, is no older than the 9th and 10th centuries after Christ.

Now is all this true, or likely or reasonable? The earliest trustworthy statements as to Scandinavia go back to about the first Christian year-hundred. They make known to us that sweeps of these lands were then in many ways powerful and civilized, terrible by land and sea. Very shortly after, their sons play a great part in the world's history, and share with their many-named Scando-Gothic kinsmen in crushing and breaking up the most powerful Empire the world had yet seen¹). But if things were so in the earliest centuries after Christ, there must have been a long period of growth and discipline. Such warlike skill and social capacity spring not up in *one* day or in *one* winter or in *one* year-hundred. And to the word «Classical» has been given a one-sided interpretation. It has been forgotten that «Classical» really points back to *Greece*, whence Italy borrowed so much in both olden and later times. The *Romans* directly or indirectly influenced the Scandian populations chiefly in the Imperial period. But long before this — as Dr. Isaac Taylor, Messrs. Kohn and Mehlis and many others have shown —, as far back as the 7th century *before* Christ, numerous and flourishing highly-civilized Greek Colonies in «Scythia» were in daily warlike and peaceful

¹) Even the Omnipotent Capital itself was seized and sacked by them in 410. In that year Alaric and his West-Goths entered Rome. The Empire never recovered the blow, and the Church entered into her inheritance.

contact with the Gothic Clans of Scandia and its nearest Marches. Such intercourse, for hundreds of years before Christ, *must* not only have had some influence on the culture and art-ornamentation of the Northmen, at all events in Sweden, but, as Dr. Taylor has shown, is the only reasonable source of the Northern Runes. This opinion, accepted by numbers of the greatest palæographic adepts abroad, has now — for the first time at the hands of any Scandinavian — been adopted and defended by J. Kreüger of Lund, in his last work published this year: „Det Aryska Elementet i den Fornsvenska Familjens och Släktens organisation“, Lund 1881, p. 22—28. In fact, so far from the Runes being *common* — which they in that case must have been — in their fabulated unknown birth-place the South and West of Europe, and excessively scarce in the far-off North, up to which it must have taken *centuries* for them to have slowly crept, this oldest barbarian Runic Alphabet, the Art of Writing *before* they learnt the Latin letters, has *never* been found outside Scandinavia and its colonies and marches, was *never* used-by and has *never* been seen in any German or Saxon land or manuscript or rune-staff or middle-age risting.

Hence the late date of the Iron-age Northern Culture and Ornamentation and Writing falls away, the Runes belonging exclusively to the North.

And this must necessarily be so. People forget that one great indispensable element in all progress is *time*, a *long time*, especially in the early ages of dense milelong forests and undrained marsh and foodless desert and difficult communication. In spite of its most perishable nature, and of only 5 finds out of 50,000 having reached any public or private Museum, we have now abundant proof that Iron was well known in several districts of Scandinavia at least 200 or 300 years before Christ. By all reason and analogy, what was common in one folkland would soon penetrate to

another. And wonderful would it have been if this had not been so, Iron being so much older in the lands *nearest* to Scandinavia. I dwell upon this, because Iron and Runes are very near each other as to time. We know very little about these oldest Iron days. But of one thing we are sure, that we first find Runes, the art of Writing, in the North when Iron has come in. It is true that — for want of Coins or other time-markers — we cannot date the most antique Runic monuments still left in our lands. But as far as we can see, some go back in Sweden and Norway to the first Christian century. The reason why so few such fast remains are left is — the immense destruction during 2000 winters. In Denmark we have no O. N. runes till the 3rd Christian age. But in Denmark, during this 19th century alone, more than 50 runic stones have been found and instantly broken up, without being examined or copied. Surely 1 or 2 or 3 of these may have borne the oldest Northern staves, while others may have been overgang, like the Helnæs stone in Fyn, from the last half of the 8th century, which very narrowly escaped being treated in the same way as the 50 or 60 others, ere it was rescued and put together. It was already cloven into 3 pieces, to be used as gate-posts. So the overgang Danish Freerslev block, found in 1876, was already cut into 3 pieces for «practical» use, before the destruction was stopt. However, in Denmark, in the 3rd year-hundred, we have the oldest runes cut and scribbled with such freedom and facility and masterly familiarity on all sorts of trifling things, even the tools of common workmen, that they show hundreds of years of use, ere they *could* have become so homely and vulgar, and have sunk down to the lowest classes. We have also Iron-age finds in Scandinavia far older than the time of Christ; and some of these, if their ornamentation be «Barbarian-Classical» in its motives, must have an Early Greek and not a late Roman source. *Should* there be any

traces of Classical ideas in the Northern myths, it is to this far-back period we must attribute them, from 500 years before Christ to 500 years after, and not to the 9th or 10th century after Christ.

All admit that, in the really Roman period, Roman influence was early and widely felt in the North. But add hereto, that later finds have proved that even Romans themselves — how many we do not know — must apparently, as merchants or travelers or agents or refugees or what not, have visited Scandinavia, some of them to live and die there, in the Early Iron Age. This also would give occasion for bits of *Classical* lore to creep in, as such things creep in every where. And as to Christian ideas in the same very early age, Christian antiquities both Orthodox and Heretical have been found in Scandinavia, which cannot all be explained as mere warbooty or merchants-ware.

Only thus do we get *time*, sufficient space, elbow-room, for such mighty changes as the free use of Iron, the introduction and spread over such immense northern lands of a Written Alphabet, and the adaptation and local development of new artistic types and decoration.

2. *How does a new Faith act?* — Next, when we consider great revolutions in faith and manners all the world over, as far back as we can get, we find that the new doctrines have little effect in reforming or reviving or re-creating *the old*, but that the old variously holds on, *survives*, into *the new*. Even Christian worship and ceremonies and asceticism were largely influenced by Asiatic creeds on the one hand and Classical on the other. The next new Religion, that of Mahomet and his Koran, was chiefly made out of Jewish and Christian traditions. The last and grossest, Mormonism, is only a travesty by a debauched Yankee swindler of his own debauched Christianity. In all such transitions old things change their name and garb, but they largely live on, in an assimilated or baptized form. As in geological

layers the older and oldest often crop out, so in creeds and customs. New doctrines naturally try to re-arrange and thus use the older, hoping better things as time goes on. At all events the current *words* remain, and these are in part distinctly heathen in character, tho now necessarily employed in the phraseology of a younger belief. The Greek of St. Paul has many traces of heathen Hellenism. In the oldest Scando-Gothic tungs, from Mæso-gothic downwards, are many pagan mythical words as technical terms in the worship of the True God. Even at this moment, in spite of the progress of 2000 winters, our popular overthrow and superstition and witchcraft contain abundant materials — however twisted and misunderstood and interpolated — pointing to the fetishisms and temple-lore of the Stone or Bronze or Early Iron Age. This very day, in our folkly nomenclature, our terms for Stars and Stones and Plants and Animals and other things, — besides pagan names directly *continued on*, we have hundreds of such where an attribution to a heathen Deity or the link of a heathen myth still meets us under the thin disguise of Christ or the Holy Mother, or of a Christian Saint or Hero. In the same way the pagan god-houses and their sites were consecrated to Christian uses; the heathen fane-lands became Christian endowments, and their festivals were accommodated to Christian purposes. The western and especially the English Church — which was largely the mother of the Scandinavian — was from the first prudent and practical in this point, which was sometimes carried to excess, and many lamentable corruptions sprung from this very source.

3. *Our friends the Wikings.* However we may sometimes sentimentally admire and besing the Wikings and Sea-kings and the wild hordes who followed them, *the facts* remain. By all testimony at home and abroad, they were no better than all other buccaneers and pirates and dare-devils elsewhere, from the chiefs of Greece to those of the

Mediterranean, from India to Algiers, from the filibusters of the Levant to those of England in the 16th century and those elsewhere in the 19th. Taken generally, the Wikings were the scourge of God, an intolerable plague and calamity, bloody barbarians, sparing neither age nor sex, mainsworn oath-breakers of their own holiest heathen oaths, carrying fire and sword far and wide, living only for plunder and desolation, till at last they *seized* lands instead of *harrying* them. As in all such cases, most of these men cared little or nothing for their own religion, such as it was, however fanatical it made them as the soldiers of slaughter and the natural foes of that new Law, those longed-for «Glad Tidings of great joy to all people», whose first and last commandment was Peace and Right and Order¹). The Wiking sought partly fame; but his *real* trade was beef and beer and booty, gold and gauds, silks and slaves and silver, wines and women and war-gear. These things he would get at all hazards, by foul means (fire and sword) or by fair (commerce), and foul means were the easiest and commonest. The great organized Wiking-raids of the 9th and 10th centuries were themselves largely a result of the heathen

¹) Mr. S. Laing, in his «The Heimskringla» (Vol 1, London 1844, p. 86) rightly observes, as to the better class of Northmen in the Wiking age: «A very strong religious spirit, among some at least of the pagan population, may be inferred from various details in the sagas. We read of many individuals in the reigns of Hakon the Good, of Olaf Tryggveson, and of Olaf the Saint, who chose to suffer mutilation, torture, the loss of fortune, and even of life, rather than give up their «religion» and submit to baptism. The religion of Odin had its martyrs in those days, and consequently, must have had its doctrines, its devotions, its observances, its application to the mind of man in some way, *its something to suffer for.*» The more this was the case, the older was their creed, and the less could they be fabricating new myths.

system having nearly spent itself. Wikingship began to be felt by the households of the murdered or plundered farmers and landholders *at home* as an unbearable curse, and by the better elements of the Scandian population as a godless tyranny against the lands abroad. The more powerful rulers tried to put it down, but this for a long time only swelled the ranks of the freelances. So did the efforts of daring and gifted leaders to kill or banish the many folk-kings and petty chiefs, so as to unite the folklands under one head. This process of unification was inevitable, however terrible the cost of blood and the individual crime. After driving off the swarms which colonized Iceland and the Western Islands and Ireland, and which recolonized half England, by about the year 1000 we find Denmark and Sweden and Norway each under its own Christian king introducing Christian Coinage and Police, and Iceland a Christian Republic using the *Christian* money (so far as it had money) of the neighboring states. And by this time the word "Wiking" had largely come in the now Christian North — however much of its Evangelisation was naturally only nominal — to be equal to "Robber" and "Ruffian" and "Wretch", as those bullies the Bearsarks had, long before. In fact it is admitted on all hands that in these 9th and 10th centuries the heathen faith was dying out, crumbling away, falling to pieces, being now chiefly used as poetical material, mere bricks and mortar in a school of composition which rapidly became more and more technical and artificial and obscure and unnatural, while the heathen institutions were making room for better arrangements and a higher civilization; till at last the Spirit of Christ, the Law of Love, struck away the last fetter of the last Slave. — On every side, too, contact with the mighty organized Christian communities, with their magnificent buildings and picturesque processions and rich church-worship and striking court-ceremonials, was producing its effects, humanizing savage

strength, often leading to Baptism, very largely to Prim-signing or Cross-marking, an introductory rite usually required before free intercourse with the Christians was permitted. Nay, Christian influences were silently at work in Scandinavia itself, so many of whose children had warred or wandered or trafficked in Christian lands. Long before the conversion of the Kings, here and there settlers came back who had been baptized in the outland, or small missions had borne fruit, Christian families were to be found. Even among the unconverted, Christian grave-rites — whose sacred splendor they had seen abroad — were partly introduced. And beyond sea, the moment the pagans touched British soil, and indeed many a shore elsewhere, they often met Kinsfolk who had long been Christians, and they themselves when remaining in those lands usually became zealous converts in one generation, the sons most commonly *restoring* what their fathers had burned or overturned, lavishing broad acres and store of gold or privilege on their new ecclesiastical foundations.

The Contrast to the Background.

We are now, however, called upon to believe that at this moment of rapid heathen decay and transition, the most intelligent Scandinavian adventurers, such as had escaped death by sea or sickness or weapon, after ravaging and firing churches and monasteries where almost alone skin-books were kept, and after slaughtering the monks and nuns and clergy and leading men — all who had any particular book-culture —, suddenly run about to read the codices they had destroyed and to hold friendly talk with the wise men they had butchered, and in this way pickt up a lot of legends and traditions and details, many of them so minute as to be unknown to most learned men *even now*. And so they went home and elaborated heathen

genealogies and myths and tales, for the use of a population whose masses had already *abandoned* and now openly *ridiculed* not a little of what they had inherited. No amount of intercourse with foreign slaves and wives and concubines ✓ at home, or of parleyings and ale-drinkings with English or Irish friends or allies abroad, would be sufficient for such a phenomenon as this.

Such a process of building up heathen God-lore, if possible at all, can only be conceivable on condition of its being *local* and very *slow*. It must have taken a thousand years *first* to have formed such mythic cycles of song and *saga*, and *then* for these to have spread abroad, and sunk down into the dialects and the tribal settlements. Yet we find as far back as the 7th and 8th centuries in Scandinavian *England*, and as early as trustworthy monuments go in the *motherland*, that the chief of these myths were then well known in the North, often curiously localized, the oldest remembered places and things being named after them, while here and there they have left their mark on works of art.

All sceptical periods are highly credulous. The present is a highly sceptical age, and therefore beyond measure credulous. It denies *a priori* all miracles, tho the world is full of mysteries and miracles. But impossibilities like these, miracles so miraculous, we decline to accept.

It is clear, if this wonderful process began and was largely fixt in the 9th and following century, that no heathen or Christian materials so employed could be later than the 8th age. Yet a multitude of the pieces referred to by Prof. Bugge are *from the middle age*, some of them later still, when additions and alterations were daily made to the older Christian or half Christian legends. Testimony taken from such sources is therefore simply valueless.

What mythic songs and remains Norway, Sweden, Denmark and England originally had — we shall never

know. What is left was chiefly preserved in Iceland, the Holy Land of the Northern peoples, whose geographical position made it the isolated ocean-surrounded depositary of so much that was antique, such treasures of olden tradition, in the families of chieftains who united in their own persons the lore of Land-right, Doom-right and Priest-right. Saxo in Denmark has preserved some striking remains of this kind, often showing a curious local stamp, unhappily not seldom in a confused shape. For Saxo's date is too modern; heathenry was then largely forgotten in Denmark. In fact Scandinavia proper, like England itself, has lost the mass of its primitive manuscripts and monuments from attacks by strangers, internal calamities, civil wars, endless destruction, the ravages of the Reformation and neglect and Vandalism in general. England still has some costly fragments, to which must be added the Wessobrunner Prayer, now extant only in an Old-Saxon dress, as the O. Saxon Heliand is doubtless a mere translation from Old-English. Our O-English Epical Lays and Charms also contain valuable heathen reminiscences, tho the subjects are mainly Christian.

But the whole bearing of England on this head has been misunderstood by Prof. Bugge. All the Scando-Goths probably had more or less the same chief Gods, with many clan differences and minor deities, and tales varying — as such things do in all lands and times. But whatever mythic songs any of the German or Saxon or Frisic races may have had, are *lost*. As far as we know, only the Northmen, the folk-stems in Scandinavia and England, had what we understand by develope Mythology. Germany can show a couple of short interesting mythical fragments; but what is now vulgarly called «German Mythology» is — the wholesale annexation, the theft bodily, by Germany in modern times (for all this traffic is comparatively modern) of the whole mythic store of Scandinavia and England.

Now whatever nuggets of God-lore may be found in England are doubly costly, in this particular argument, from their *extreme antiquity*. Already in the 2nd century after Christ there was a large Northern settlement in England; this continually increast, mixt with Frisians and other Scando-Goths, and at last they founded "kingdoms". The Wiking invasions were merely a second outflow from the same Northern hive, now speaking dialects which the lapse of several centuries had considerably modified from those of the first settlers in Britain. But the oldest Iron-age soldiers and colonists from Scandinavia carried their native Runes with them to Britain, together with their homeland temple-tales. Accordingly — in spite of endless destruction, and early Christianization, and the rapid spread of the Latin letters (the alphabet of the Church and of Western civilization), English Runic Monuments begin with the 5th year-hundred; fragments of Scandian pagan myths are carved on stone in England in the 7th age; while traces of Scandian god-lore show themselves in English manuscripts in the 8th century; we having no skinbooks written *in English* earlier than that date. ✓

Prof. Bugge's 1st Part.

But let us now go thro our learned critic's pamphlet more in detail.

The Anses.

At p. 1, in connection with the ANSES, the O. E. ES, Icel. ÆSIR, in modern Danish ASER, he says that on the Danish Kragehul-Moss Spear-shaft is a genitive mansname ASUGISALAS, which is "graphic" for ANSUGISALAS. As all the letters in this inscription are continuous, not divided into words, each decipherer will of course separate and group them as seems him best, so as to give what he thinks a

good meaning. Prof. Bugge has so done, and got the group above, which he thinks is a mansname. His version of this risting has not yet been made public. I have found no such mansname here. At all events the runes as they stand can only be redd *ÆSUGISÆLES*, and I cannot see how the plain *ÆS* is «graphic» for *ÆNS*. If the *Æ* had been pronounced when the lance-shaft was carved, the rune-cutter would have given us *ÆNS*. As it was not, he gave us *ÆS*. But as Prof. Bugge has made the plain *Æ* into *Λ*, because he otherwise has no *Λ* in his O. N. alphabet, so *ÆS* is to be «graphic» for *ÆNS* to fit his reading or learning. I mention this here because *in other places*, when it suits his purpose, he hangs the whole world on the color of a vowel, the very smell of a consonant.

The Nordendorf Brooch.

At p. 2 he says that the Nordendorf Brooch, which I take to have been of 5th century North-English origin, bears in Old-Northern Runes the inscription *WIGI ÞONAR*, «Thonar vie», *may Thonar (or Thor) wi (or bless)*, which would be surprising indeed on a Brooch, Fastener or Fibula. As far as I know, no such formula has ever been found on personal ornaments or clasps or tools of any kind in any land. What this garment-pin really bears is: 3 scribbles, the names of the owners from time to time, as it changed hands. The first is: *ÆLEUBWINI*, a mansname, made out of the 2 Old-English names commonly spelt *ELEOF* or *ELOF* and *WINI*. The second is: *LONÆWORE*, a mansname, consisting of the 2 O. E. names *LONI* and *WORR* or *WORRY*. The third is: *WODÆN WINIWONÆWYO*; *WODÆN* being a not uncommon O. E. masculine name, as *ODIN* is still, tho scarce, a mansname in England and Scandinavia. *WINIWONÆWYO* is a womansname in the dative, compounded of 2 O. E. words, but this is the first time I have seen this name *won* with a feminine ending. Thus this 3rd risting simply says: *WODÆN-gives-this*

to-the-lady-WINIWONÆW, who was of course his wife or sweetheart or kinswoman or friend.

Foreign words, etc.

At p. 4 we have the argument that the Northern myths *could* not be older than the 9th and 10th centuries, *because* they contain a number of Latin words, especially such as had been learned by the Wikings in England. As to this, I suppose we must still place glorious old Bishop Wulfila in the middle of the 4th century; yet the Mæso-Gothic texts contain many foreign words, Classical and other. The same is the case with all the other oldest Scando-Gothic manuscripts, which go back to the 8th age, the outland words there found being usually very much older in popular use than that date.

And with regard to England, it was a Roman province for about 350 years, down to 401. An altar has been found there, dated 154 years after Christ, to the Scando-Gothic God JUPITER-TANARUS, THUNOR OR THUR. Cohorts and military Colonies from all Roman lands were in garrison in England, including a Græco-Syriac population at Corbridge, and many Altars in Britain bear Greek inscriptions, one of them by a Greek high-priestess. Even Egyptian hieroglyphics have been found there. Gothic Scandinavians fared far and wide *before* Christ among the Greek colonies near them, and *after* Christ in the Imperial service in Italy and Byzantium, also mingling with Western and Eastern populations and cohorts and legions and garrisons half the world over, besides their frequent contact with their kinsmen in Britain and elsewhere. Thence alone swarms of Roman and Classical words *would* come in and *did* come in, among the English in particular and the Northmen in general, aided by intercourse with Romanized Gaul and half Romanized Germany. All know what great wanderers the Britons, Angles, and Northmen generally, were.

We see then that our Scando-Anglic forefathers had more than 1400 years to pick up a few Greek words, and 700 for them to learn a few Latin (which were often half Greek) *before* the 8th century after Christ. And as to English vocables *not* of Classical origin, who has told Prof. Bugge that they did not exist in the *Scandian* dialects *also*? They may quite well, for all that we can say. New runic finds in this way give such missing links. Even the *very oldest* Scandian *book*-remains are so modern, that we can draw no conclusion from such words not being found *there*. In the one folk-land or the other, as we are all aware, ancient words continually draw back and others take their place. — In illustration of Latin words which very early made their way to Scandinavia, *when* we cannot tell, I will mention *one* (unknown in English)¹) which is not in the Scandian heathen songs, but *might* have been, for it became a favorite in Scandinavia. Rapidly a household term there, it formed derivatives, and drove out older expressions. I refer to KÆR, KĀR, *dear, beloved*, with such formatives as the Swedish KÄRLEK Danish KERLIGHED. Whether indirectly borrowed from some old Romance speech or taken directly from the Latin CARUS, this Scandian KÆR, KER is none the less *certainly* a Roman vocable. Now in the island of Gotland was found in 1871 an exceptionally shaped granite block, bearing a rather long funeral inscription in the later runes, some in unusual shapes, and with the scarce type ꝥ for B. Some letters are dim or worn away, but the whole formula can be redd, and many of the words are too plain for doubt. Among the distinct ones are:

UFUR, SAR KIARN, BRUFUR (sini) RUFUISL.

OVER, TO-HIMSELF DEAR, BROTHER (his) R.

That is, *In memory of his beloved Brother Ruthuisl.*

¹) The solitary KAGGERLE33C (= KARLEYK), l. 2187 in the Ormulum, ed. White, is a mere late Wikingism.

Now this grave-stone *cannot* be *later* than the 9th century. It is heathen, and its whole style both in runes and execution is very antique. But it was a public monument in the common local language, and was intended to be understood by all who saw it. And yet the Latin word *carus* is not only here fully Scandinavianized as quite a current expression, but it has even had time to become dialectized, so as to get the well-known broken vowel *ia*, for *a*. The *ac. s. masc.* of *car* would at this time usually be *karan*. But so current was the word that the falling syllable is slurred, and for the 2 syllables *karan* we have the monosyllable *kiarn*. Thus so common in Gotland in the 9th year-hundred, it must have been used there *very long before*. It is only the want of really old written remains in Scandinavia, which hinders us from adding many other such examples.

But difference of Gender! Well. Surely, however, nothing is more illusory. All practical philologists are well aware, that a word may have different genders in the same land in different districts at the same time, and even in the same district at the same moment, and that genders often fluctuate in the same land as years go by.

That *VIKINGR* should be *originally* an English term is most unlikely, tho it may be older in Scandinavia, and *therefore* in *England*, than has been supposed. And if *VIKINGR*, the pirate, was originally English (*wicine*), why was not *VIKING*, a pirate-expedition, also used in *England*?

It is true enough that *sæing* is slurred from *sæccing*. It was pointed out nearly 150 years ago by a learned Englishman, Edward Lye. But this *sæccing* most likely existed also in the oldest Scandinavian. If we had voluminous Scandian skinbooks from the 8th century, we might prove it. We have not, and therefore can only prove that the oldest Scandian codices are modern. But it is surely most unreasonable that a word so common and so widely spread

all over Scandinavia — as far back as we can go and in still living provincial dialects — as *sæng*, a *bed*, should have been borrowed from England by Wikings. The same is the case with the word *hird*, the house-guard or household, like *sæng* found in Scandinavia in a shortened form because the monuments are so late. The longer forms meet us in O. English and Ohg. These two words were so much the more likely to have been also Old-Scandinavian, as they both exist in the excessively Scandinavian O. North-English.

The former is even there slurred, exactly as in Scandia, having become *song*. The latter is in a shape more antique than in South-English, *hiorad*. As an example how it goes with such things I may mention, that both *sæccing* or *sæng* and *hiwred* died out hundreds of years ago in England. Yet, in the N. Engl. speech the former is still found as *sonk* and *sunk*. As to *hiwred*, before it became extinct in England, it had gone over to the shorter forms *hird* and *hêrd*, just as in Scandinavia. Of the many words used by our forefathers for *Couch*, *Sleeping place*, only 2 are now commonly left, *bed* in English and *sæng* in Scandinavian.

That *wíc* is borrowed from the Latin *vicus*, has never yet been proved.

That *fljóð*, a woman, should be clipt out of O. English female names ending in *-fled*, is simply monstrous.

As to *drekka* or *ðema* being an imitation of the English *drincan* and *dryman*, surely this guess is no better.

Common people would rather think *veig*, strength, connected with *veig*, strong drink, than that *veig*, liquor should be eventually taken from the O. E. *wæge* a cup. That both may perhaps originally have sprung from the same Northern root, is quite another matter.

And as to the borrowed Irish or Keltic words. We are all aware that certain Keltic and Finnish and other words early crept into Scandinavia. And why should they

not? The Scandinavians were in frequent contact with these peoples. That no Scandinavian should ever visit Keltic lands and folks, and no Kelt ever have seen a Scandinavian, before these famous and exact 9th and 10th centuries after Christ, is — well, it is food for the simple.

Loke and Frigg.

On his page 10 Prof. Bugge asserts that *LOKE*'s accusation against *FRIGG*, that she had slept in the arms of her Brother (I suppose a misprint for Brothers, referring to the story about *VILE* and *VE*), must have been imported from England at a very late date. For, says he, it is taken from Abbot Alfric of Malmesbury¹), at the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century. If this Alfric be the excellent Archbishop of Canterbury, the book will be no older. Alfric says in the poem that this blood-shame took place between *JOVE* and *VENUS*. Now this slander, continues Prof. Bugge, against the fair *VENUS* was unknown in Classical times, and was first taught the heathen barbarians by Christian priests, to bring the Classical Gods into contempt. How all this could interest the Scandians, who knew little and cared less about *JOVE* and *VENUS* in a Roman sense, I fail to see. But meantime here as elsewhere in Prof. Bugge's pages, we must not be too strict.

Let us, however, at once *add* to his statement, that it was really *Classical* and *not* Christian authors who first spread abroad this scandal, if scandal it be. For we must remember, that all mythologies abound in doubles and inter-mixtures and contradictions, chiefly sprung from the blending of local symbols and songs and superstitions. Scandinavia

¹) Printed, with translation, by J. M. Kemble, "Salomon and Saturn", Part 2, 8vo. London 1846, p. 120 foll., and by Prof. N. M. Petersen in *Annaler f. Nord. Oldk.* Kjøbenhavn 1846, p. 76, foll.

was full of such. Even as to FRIGG herself, it is certain not only that FRIGG and FROYA were both originally one deity, but also that this female goddess was at first one and the same with the god FROY or FREY, the English FREA. So also in the classic lands. Their traditions had *one* VENUS, but they had also *two*, and *three*, and *four*. One of these was the daughter of Jupiter by the nymph Dione. Mars was the son of Jupiter and Juno, or, as others will, of Juno alone, just as Minerva was the daughter of Jupiter alone. In either case Mars was the son of Jupiter, whether with or without the help of Juno, and thus VENUS and MARS *were* literally Brother and Sister. But that MARS really *did* sleep in VENUS's arms, no one can deny. All the Gods saw it, and great was their jeering and laughter thereat. How then could this be a *late* libel, invented by *Christian* clergy?¹⁾

But let us hear what Alfric really communicates. His words have been misunderstood, and in fact he is in places unclear. This is natural enough, because he talks of the heathen *in general*, and *also* of the heathen *Danes*, so that now and then some confusion may arise. After a few sentences about idolatry in all lands and SATURN and JOVE, he tells us that

¹⁾ Of course the Christians early used the crimes of the heathen Gods as arguments against the heathen faith. These crimes, so far from being *invented* by the Christians, were continually appealed to by them as *FACTS* publicly acknowledged by the pagans themselves. I will only give one example. In the early 3rd century, in book 10 of his «*Recognitiones*», S. Clemens (or the author who goes under that name) declaims in a masterly manner against heathen idolatry. He cries shame on the beastly lives of their «*immortals*», as solemnly described by the pagan priests and poets. Among other things he points out, in section 16, that Jupiter committed incest with *his own sister*, Juno, and also with *his own daughter*, Persephone (Proserpina), who bore to him Dionysius (Dionusos, Bacchus). With the endless variations of these legends I have here nothing to do.

several nations called Jove THOR, and that this THOR was the favorite God of the Danish people. Also, that MARS was JOVE's son, and was worshipt on the third day of the week as the battle-god, thus making him TY, TYR, the English TEW. Also, that another pagan man-god was MERCURY, to whom the fourth day, Wednesday, was given, and that he was called OPON in Danish. Also, that there was a woman-deity named VENUS, honored on the Friday, and he expressly adds that she was called FRYGG in Danish. Also that on the seventh day, Saturday, SATURN was worshipt, unhappily not giving the Danish name, if he existed in Denmark.

Alfric also accuses Jupiter of having debauched his two daughters DIANA and VENUS. This is therefore either a blundered myth, or an otherwise unknown local or late-Roman tradition, for we have no orthodox Classical tale about Jove's incest with Diana.

However all this may be, Alfric distinctly asserts that according to Danish accounts Jove-THOR lay with Venus-FRYGG, and that Mars-TY *also* lay with Venus-FRYGG, and that FRYGG and TY were Brother and Sister.

Now Alfric had heard or redd all this before the year 1000, in England, where there was an immense Danish population, many of them still pagans or only half Christianized. Whence had these Danes gotten this belief? They had inherited it from their fathers, if old settled families; or they had brought it with them direct from Denmark, if they were more or less new comers. In either case this old heathen tradition was not *invented* by them in Christian England anno 1000 after Christ. And in the *first* instance it must have come from *Denmark*. Nor have we any hint that this was a *new* tale. All things are spoken of by Alfric — with his repeated *was, was, was* — as old establisht facts. Alfric's poem therefore proves that the accusation by LOKE against FRIGG in the Elder Edda must have been very antique in the North. It is physically impossible that

it could have been copied from England so late as in the 11th century, in which case it could not have become twisted and partly nationalized in Scandinavia before the 13th or 14th century at the earliest.

True it is that Alfric makes THOR and not WODEN the greatest Danish God:

Joue tó wurðmynte,
ðám mærostan gode.

But so he may have been. Alfric had no doubt good reasons for what he said. He knew more about these things than we do, and THOR plays the same supreme part in the centuries older English Beowulf, which, as we all are aware, is a Danish national Epic retold in England.

Modern Etymologies.

At p. 11 and following we learn that LOKI is LUCIFER, HYMIR is OENEUS, TÝR is TYDEUS, HLÓÐYN is LATONA, HJÁLMAARR is HILAS, HERCULES OR ERCOL is ORVARODDR, and so on. To these things I have nothing to say, except that it is this abuse of etymological and philological tricks which has justly excited the ridicule of sober people, and that with such legerdemain we may prove whatever we like, that anything is everything, and that everything is nothing at all. And it does not mend the matter, if, when we have no better argument, we call it "folk-etymology." Where, indeed, we have a long succession of *transitional* forms on *trustworthy* monuments, something can be done. But by mere playing on words for a theory we accomplish nothing. If Prof. Bugge had remarkt that all mythologies have deep roots and have some things in common, and that sometimes even names may run into each other, but gnarled and twisted and split and shortened or lengthened at head or tail or both, and slurred and drawled in the most curious way — in short, as we vulgarly say, *transmogrified*, of which all languages show so many laughable or surprising examples

— so that they defy the usual etymological recipes and sink into mere »folk-etymology«, — the case would have been different. But to crush and press the gradual or sudden and accidental developments of thousands of years from India to Iceland, as well as the spontaneous independent accidental upgrowth of parallel popular ideas, into the narrow box called the Wikings of the 9th and 10th century — is meaningless.

To such extremes does this system lead our learned author that, at p. 18, 19, obscurities in an old codex, or even a mistranslation in a little known writer, hundreds of years before in Italy or somewhere else, gave his full armor to HJÁLMAR, and changed the Spider and her Web into RÁN and her Sea-net, and compelled THOR to save his life by the help of an Alder-tree, with whose aid he swang himself up out of the water, instead of quietly and respectably getting into a Boat, as the Latin author said that HERCULES — that is THOR — actually did. But then as THOR was also ACHILLES, there is no longer any difficulty. Prof. Bugge might have further proved that all these things were introduced into the North by Wikings in the 9th & 10th centuries by adding — that THOR was here, *also*, Ulysses, who saved himself from Charybdis by swinging himself up with the aid of the figtree which grew over the rock. — It is true that this is in Homer, and all the chief Greek heathen writers were almost unknown before the year 800 in the barbarous west, and scarcely re-appeared till after the fall of Constantinople. But such small things need not trouble us. When the illustrious and learned Greek Theodore was made Archbishop of Canterbury he took Greek Mss. with him to England, among them a codex of Homer, probably the first known out of the Classical lands. This was in 670. The Greek school founded by Theodore declined after his epoch. But his skinbook Homer was of course *not* burned by the Wikings; on the contrary it was piously *studied* by them,

and they thus took the above episode from his Odyssey.
Quod erat demonstrandum.

Gods wandering in disguise.

At p. 15 Prof. Bugge gives another proof that these Northern myths are from the middle-age. It is, that in them we have tales about mummied Gods wandering on earth, which were therefore imitated from «middle-age Latin redactions of Greek-Roman myths»¹).

This need not keep us long. Such wanderings meet us abundantly all the world over. I never yet heard of any mythology which had them not. The very oldest religions have the most. They go back even to Paradise itself, when Animals as it were talkt with each other and with man, and when the first pair «heard the voice of the Lord God, walking in the garden in the cool of the day»²). As might be expected, they also have survived into the Christian system. All thro the middle-age until now, we have in Christian Europe a whole cyclus of tales about Our Lord and St. Peter, and other Saints, — and about the Devil and his Mother or his Grandmother or his men —, going in various errands up hill and down dale, from the rich man's house to the poor shepherd's hut.

The argument from the Folk-tale.

Let us now turn to p. 25. — We have hitherto lookt upon all mythologies as ever-growing ever varying ever-mingling temple-tales and types and symbols and local legends and adventures of chiefs and clans, wandering in a thousand shapes, swollen by fanciful things continually added by poets, penetrating or making folk-tales and being

¹) «latinske Gjengivelser fra Middelalderen af græsk-romerske Myther.»

²) Genesis, Ch. 3, v. 8.

influenced by them back again. For such folk-tales and folk-ballads are often mere fragments or localizations or tribal adaptations of the temple-tales themselves. Such things are therefore, *in substance*, immensely antique.

But Prof. Bugge informs us, that where there is a common element in a folk-tale and a Northern temple-tale, the latter has been made or modified by the folk-tale as pickt up from Latin or something else in the 9th or 10th century.

Would it not be more reasonable to say, that the oldest and widest spread folk-tales are in substance *thousands of years* older than the 8th century, many of them being traced as far as we can go back — even to Egyptian Papyri in the graves of the dead, and to Assyrian and Babylonian stones and tablets in the temples of great kings — to the farthest East and the farthest West, the farthest North and the farthest South?

The Old Language and the New.

But we now come to something much more serious. *Deus ex machina*. We cut the Gordian knot, as we cannot unloose it. At p. 28 Prof. Bugge handles that great crux — the language. And what is the result? It is this:

As far back as we can go with the help of the later and the oldest Runes, there prevailed in Scandinavia — say for the first 800 years after Christ — a language which was not «Northern». During this period its Northern characteristics are so little developed, that we with good reason may call it a «germansk» (that is, a Scando-Gothic) dialect.

In the year 801, however, or, strictly, a few moons after the 9th century opens, all this is changed. There then all at once bursts forth, «in the 9th century», a full-feathered «Northern» individuality in the language. «In sound, grammatical forms, syntax and word-stuff this new tung

was quite different from that which exclusively prevailed in the North down to the 7th and 8th year-hundred¹⁾.

And as there was this sudden revolution in the language, we cannot be astonished that there was an equally sudden revolution in the religious belief and songs of the Scandinavians. The more miracles, the merrier. Only we must allow some few years for the new tongue to settle down and fix itself, before we can expect *new* lays about the *new* God-myths in the *new* language.

All this is very surprising, absolutely incredible, altogether impossible. It is also curious as regards myself personally.

When I published the result of my Old-Northern Runic studies, some 14 years ago, I endeavored to show and prove by facts, that Northern speech-lore during this century, misled by German theories, had wandered into a wrong path; that the present *shibboleth* about all the Scandinavian lands having once in the oldest *historical* times spoken one language, this being 14th century Icelandic, now mis-called «Old-Northern», was a colossal mistake, and would have been a physical and geographical contradiction. I showed that no such immense land-group, any where or any time, as Scandinavia, ever had one tongue, even as a conventional book-language, in ages which had no centralization and no schools. On the contrary, in those sweeps of wide territory which were *not yet* Sweden or Norway or Denmark or England, but only many-kinged folklands, there were naturally and inevitably only local dialects, the talks of the several stems and families which had gradually settled or spread in the various shires, these dialects —

¹⁾ »det er da i Lyd, i Former, i de for Sætnings-bygningen nødvendigste Formord og overhoved i Ordforraadet gennemgribende forskjelligt fra det Sprog, der var det eneraadende i Norden indtil i 7de og 8de Aarhundred.« S. Bugge. Studier, p. 28.

— however agreeing in essentials — of course always changing and intermingling; but that we know nothing of these things, save when we are holpen by the scanty Runic monuments. I pointed out that all *non-runic* Scandinavian literature is *modern*, and that we must therefore try to get light from the next best source, the oldest Scandian colonies, whose literature *is* old. The earliest of these is England, whose Anglo-Gothic settlement began in the 2nd century after Christ; the next great outflow was to Iceland, about the year 900. There are 700 winters between these dates.

We guess *a little* about the oldest non-runic English dialects, *nothing* about the oldest Icelandic. It is not till the 5th century that English runes begin to help us, till the 8th that English parchments come in. A little before 1200 a couple of Icelandic vellums enable us to see that Icelandic *then* was very different from the polisht orthodox schooled classical Icelandic of the 14th century. Thus the first English parchments are nearly 500 years more ancient than the earliest Icelandic, which are from the middle age. The contrast is immense. In 500 or 400 or even 300 or 200 years a language undergoes surprising alterations. What the mixt colony-dialect of Iceland was about the year 900, we can not know. It was certainly *very different* to the (300 winters *later*) oldest *parchment* Icelandic. The oldest known Swedish skinbook dates after 1250, the oldest Danish is later still.

I also showed that in Old-Northern Runic remains in Scandinavia we find the local talks not only *not* Icelandic, but on a par generally with the oldest English, especially the oldest North-English; and that, also speaking generally, we see that the oldest runish Scandinavian, tho bearing its own Northern character amid its many dialectic variations, — stands on the same footing as all the other oldest Scando-Gothic folk-moles of which monuments have come down to us.

At the same time I drew attention to the fact, that what for some centuries has distinguished the Scandian tungs from the English, (the Passive verb and the Post-article), were later local Scandinavian developments, did not begin to show themselves in Scandian till late in the 10th year-hundred, and were not known to or used by those multitudinous Scandian populations — chiefly Danish — which swarmed over into England in the Wiking period, occupying half the country, the Danelag, English provinces which have written monuments still left from that olden time, and whose strongly marked folk-dialects have remained to this very day, but in neither of which we have yet found Wiking examples of the Passive Voice or the affixt Article. It follows from this that the Scandian Pirates who came direct from the North and settled in England in the 9th and 10th centuries — spoke a language which was not «Northern». How this could be, I leave to Prof. Bugge to explain.

But I also remarked that the older German dialects, in their use of *sik*, *sich*, had nearly as much of a Passive or Middle form as Scandinavia in the 11th and 12th centuries, but that this use of *sik* went on developing in Scandinavia while it grew less common in Germany, and was little used in old Jutlandic. At the same time a large part of North and South Jutland has kept unchanged its original *prefixt* Article, just as we have done in England. The English *could* not form a Passive or Reflective by the help of *sik*, as they so early *lost* this *sik*, tho they long kept the pronominal adjective *sik*, which latter however has also centuries since died out in England. I therefore asserted that the Old-English, especially the O. North-English, — whose slurrings and simplifications were as rapid as those of Scandinavia, while the South-English was doggedly conservative — was the best key to the O. Northern runic remains in the homeland, and a costly help to the study of the Scandian tungs in general.

But the moment I quietly and modestly advanced these views, — the result of years of special study —, I was covered with obloquy in Scandinavia, the Icelandic-as-Old-Northern school being up in arms against me; while in England and America the fruits of my long and painful labors excited great attention, and were approved by many of the best philologists.

We now see that Prof. Bugge, without mentioning my name, has entirely come round to my views. Only, instead of *many dialects*, he still speaks of *one language*; and, instead of calling the oldest Northern a «Scando-Gothic» tung, he calls it «germansk».

But he adds something against which I beg strongly to protest. He says that this «one» Scandian language during the first 800 years after Christ was not «Northern», and that suddenly, by the year 801 or 811 or 821, or whatever the date was, all the various Scandian populations had agreed to evolve out of their «inner consciousness» a new language, quite different from the older one, a new tung now for the first time «Northern.»

We can only smile at all this extravagance. Such a wonder was never before heard of since the world began. In every country there are various talks, and these local dialects go on, changing and mixing, some slowly some quickly; so that at the same time in the same land we have many fluctuating moles, some simpler and more modern, others more old-fashioned and cumbrous, othersome with mixtures strange of both old and new. But no dialect-group can jump from one extreme to the other in a week or a generation. They crumble and grow by degrees, during thousands of years. Else all intercourse would cease; no man could speak with his own grandfather; the language of the Law the Temple the Scald the Market and the Home — would become gibberish. And all that we have left of written Scandinavian, from the time of Christ downwards,

shows one and the same »Northern« tung, but slowly changing in its various local shapes, so that one year-hundred was never cut off from the speech and syntax and word-stuff of its foreganger.

At this very moment there are scores of dialects in Scandinavia, some of them so practically different, that people from the one district cannot understand those from the other. There are, unhappily, also at least 2 conventional artificial Book-languages in official use, and — however unnecessary and absurd and injurious it may be, yet — the *fact* is, that most books intended to be widely read are instantly translated from the one Scandian book-tung to the other. Yet all this does not hinder the advance of the Scandian lands on the same lines with a certain amount of uniformity in every direction. And I ask any honest philologist whether all these dialects and both these book-languages are not yet — taken together and on the whole — essentially *one* speech, and that *Northern*? If not, neither may we any longer speak of English or French or Italian or Spanish or Frisic or Saxon or German, or any other mole, for all these folk-groups *have* — and always *have* had —, each of them, manifold folk-talks desperately different. And however allied or intermixt these tungs may be, in border-lands even curiously sliding into each other, they all in *historical* times have developpt certain distinctive marks of sound or sense or both, which we call their characteristics.

But we now come to Prof. Bugge's application of his new doctrine as to the mother-tung of Scandinavia during the first 800 winters after Christ. He declares roundly (p. 3, 4) that it was so different from the new one which sprang up in the 9th century, that we cannot write the mythic lays therein, which *must* therefore be younger than the 8th age.

Even admitting this assertion, which *I do not*, I say that the actual question in dispute is here lost sight of. Old Italian or Greek dialects 750 years before Christ were most unlike those 250 before Christ, and these again strangely different from book-Latin and book-Greek under the later Emperors. Yet the mythology of the Classical peoples was the same in all *great* essentials from 750 B. C. till the days of Constantine. Their chief temple-songs and formulas all along rested on the same great myths, were in substance the same. The forms and metres might alter as the dialects altered, but they went on all the same, silently re-written or accommodated or imitated as circumstances required. So has it been in all times and lands.

The Charlemagne and Roland Saga, for instance, in its oldest and simplest shape, and with its enlargements and modernizations up to its latest French copyings — has change of dialect thrown any difficulty in its way?

Suppose I were to assert, that in England certain religious ideas could not be older than the 16th or 17th century, because the older tungs were impracticable? Yet, as a *fact*, we have the Lord's Prayer or Christian verities, sacred formulas or Hymns and Bible-teachings, in prose or in verse, from the 7th year-hundred downwards, and in local dialects immensely differing from each other.

In all such cases it is *the substance* which we look for. We cannot now literally translate a single Edda-song with *its original full force* into any modern Northern dialect, any Old-English or Old-French lay into modern English or modern French. Even Shakespear himself, in his original text, is already largely antiquated both in words and grammar, and an enormous explanatory literature has sprung up respecting his writings. Yet we can render *the substance* of the oldest Scando-Gothic remains in many beautiful forms and metres, more or less like the original. The oldest mythical Edda-lays could therefore have been chaunted or

written, in Scandinavia, as easily in the 1st century after Christ, as in the 9th or in the 19th.

The Death of Baldor.

We are now able to take up the Baldor myth, p. 34.

One argument in favor of Baldor being copied from Christ is, the words: „engi mál haldaz dómr hans“, *no doom or sentence of his can be carried out*¹⁾, that is, all his dooms or judgments are useless and helpless. This seems very strange. Surely the older version should be preferred: *no doom of his can be held back or resisted*. That is: His sentence is *final*.

At p. 35 our author announces that the blind HADO is taken from the legendary blind LONGINUS (an ancient Roman mansname), who pierces Christ on the Cross.

In the canonical Gospel of St. John, ch. 19, v. 34, we are told, in the original Greek, that a soldier stuck our Saviour's side with *λογκή*, LONGKE, a spear. All judicious commentators are agreed, that later legends have manufactured their fabulous LONGIUS or LONGINUS from this Greek word. And indeed it is so evident that it speaks for itself. Meantime, certain it is that neither St. John nor any other canonical Gospel has *one word* about this nameless soldier being *blind*, which was unknown to all the oldest Church. Whence then came this idea? The Danish Professor Svend Grundtvig has said, *from the Baldor Myth*. Prof. Bugge says, the Baldor myth was enriched with this detail — the *blind* HADO — from the Christian legend. How old, then, is this pseudo-Christian tale?

Neither the older nor the later and fabulous authorities give any answer. The apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, 5th and 6th century, has not *one word* about the spearman

¹⁾ „Men der er den Eiendommelighed ved ham, at ingen af hans Domme kan holde sig.“

being *blind*. Add, that all the *oldest* traditions know nothing of Christ being stabbed with a lance *before* he gave up the ghost. This always takes place *after* his death. It is the still *later* stories which now and then say, that our Lord was *first* transfixt and *then* died. But they are of no value, just because *they are* so late. It is true that, at p. 36, Prof. Bugge speaks of Longinus as known in England in the 10th or 11th century. It would have been wonderful indeed if he had not. But this means, that he occurs in a scribble of 3 lines, (2 of them in Latin)¹).

In fact we need no further proof of how such details *grow*, than this question of *blindness*. In the oldest Greek

¹) As we all know, the invocation of heathen Gods in medical Charms *survived* in Christian times, the *names* being changed to Christ, S. Peter and other Apostles, Angels or Christian heroes. Among other such names in old Charms — which are often wholly or partly in Latin — we have now and then that of LONGIUS or LONGINUS, invoked to cure sicknesses connected with *the blood*, he having pierced the side of the Crucified. In the few such Longinus-spells I have seen, he is *never* called BLIND, and *never* called upon to heal BLINDNESS. So here. Among the Old-English Galdor-songs at the end of O. Cockayne's first volume (Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England, London 1864 p. 392) we have the passage referred to by Prof. Bugge. It is a *spell* against the Stitch — from a Ms. of about the beginning of the 11th century:

»Wið gestice.

»Wrið cristes mæl and sing ðriwe ðær on ðis and pater noster. longinus miles lancea ponxit dominum et restitit sanguis et recessit dolor«. — »For a stitch. Write a cross of Christ, and sing ovr the place this thrice«.

In the 11th century O. South-English prose legend »The Uplifting of the Holy Rood« (Cotton Ms. Julius E vij, published pp. 99—107 of Dr. R. Morris's *Legends of the Holy Rood*), we are told at p. 107 that the name of the centurion was LONGINUS; but he is here so far from being *blind*, that HE SAW (»He geseah«) all the wonders that happened at Our Lord's death, and *therefore* believed and was baptized.

Gospel of Nicodemus (5th century), and in the Latin version (5th century), the Centurion is spoken of, but he has no name; while no Spear-bearer *at all* is mentioned, still less one who was *blind*. In the largely interpolated *later* Greek text (6th century), the *Centurion* is called LONGINUS¹), and it is said that *after* Christ's death an *unnamed* soldier speared Jesus in the side; *no word* about his being *blind*.

Thus no canonical and no heretical book knows anything of a *blind* spear-bearer stabbing Christ. I therefore again ask: *how old* is this fable in the Western Church? — Prof. Bugge does not say; but the oldest constructive example he gives, a drawing in an Irish Ms. in St. Gallen from the 9th century, is far too late as a source for the organic Scandinavian myth, tho it suits as to date, when lookt upon as *borrowed* by an Irish artist from the story he had heard about *the Scandian Baldor*, there being at this time great intercourse between the Northmen and the Kelts in Ireland and elsewhere. In fact a large part of Ireland, including Dublin, was at this period under the sway of Wiking kings and their followers, chiefly men from Norway. — All the other instances adduced by the learned Professor are so modern, that I shall not waste powder and shot upon them.

On one only will I dwell for a moment. It is the work called „Toledóth Jeschu“, used by me in my O. N. Runic Mon. Vol. I, p. 432 as a proof that Prof. Svend Grundtvig was right, but here by Prof. Bugge as an argument that he was wrong. Now this piece is from the 13th century, and was written to blacken Christ and the Christians. It tells

¹) The oldest dated Syriac ms., now in Florence, is from the year 586. On a coarse drawing of the Crucifixion in this codex is written ΛΟΡΙΝΟC = LONGINUS, the only word in Greek in the whole skinbook. V. *Garathausen*, Griechische Palaeographie. 8vo. Leipzig 1879, p. 157.

us that all *trees* had taken oath not *to bear*, not *to lift up*, the Lord if his foes would crucify him; but that Judas found a shrub forgotten by the erranders, pulled it up, took it to the priests, — and *this herb* suddenly stood stiff as a beam while the Jews hanged Christ upon it. — I need not add, that this absurd fable is otherwise unknown to all the learned Jews, and has never been found in any of the Talmuds and Targums, even the latest.

Surely any common reader would at once recognize here a *late middle-age* variation borrowed from the antique Baldor-myth, which wandered to every land whither the Northmen came; and they went far and wide in feud and foray, in peace and war, also repeatedly to Africa and Spain. But no! Our learned critic insists that this idle tale also was used by the Wikings, Judas being changed by them into Loke, and the forgotten cabbage-stalk into the Mistelto. If so, according to his theory, this Hebrew fable must have been current *before* the 9th age, tho no shadow of a proof has ever been found. Thus, — for so we must believe — this ridiculous joke, theoretically known in the 8th year-hundred, was pickt-up by the Hebrew-learned Angles or Kelts in England or Ireland, was by them taught to their very dear friends the red-handed Wiking plunderers in the 9th, and so by the 10th had grown an integral part of the Baldor story — only twisted round, so that the Cabbage-stalk, which had unluckily become a cross, was by the Wiking-Scald duly rectified to an ARROW!

After this we shall not be surprised to see (p. 48) another brilliant specimen of loan. Among the many missiles cast at Baldor, were also *stones*. Now no stones were *actually* hurled at Jesus when he was crucified, as all the canonical, apocryphal and other accounts testify. But just therefore the evidence is *absolute* of *identity* and of *borrowing* by the Wikings; for there *might* have been some obscure heretical *variation* as to Christ's death, a variant unknown

to us but well known to the Wikings in the 9th or 10th year-hundred, which actually *did* say that the Saviour was *first* stoned; and it was this never-yet-heard-of *variation* which — they really followed! — And this reminds me of a story told at the beginning of this century, about the keeper and exhibitor of the curious and absurd things then collected in the Grammar-school at Birmingham in England. *Se non vero, è bene trovato*. After showing and describing the one laughable object after the other, the keeper came to an old Sword. 'And this', he said, 'is the Sword with which the prophet Balaam¹) killed his Ass'. A spectator, however, who knew his Bible better, cried out: 'Why, man, Balaam had no Sword; he only *wisht* he had one'. 'Well, well', answered the showman, 'what I mean is, that this is *the very* Sword which Balaam *wisht* he had!'

Another evidence (p. 49). In the oldest Scandian remains *Dreams* play a great part. They did so in England also, and elsewhere. Accordingly, Baldor had gruesome vision-bodings. Baldor is Christ. Christ had *no* such dreams; but he *might* have had, *ought* to have had. So it was just that death-shadow which he *ought* to have had and *had not*, helpt by the dream which actually visited *Pilate's wife*, which was copied by the Wikings when they fabricated the Baldor story!

That the devil egged on the death of Christ (p. 50) is another feature borrowed by the Wikings and given to Loké. For Loke was the Fiend in the Christian sense, so much the more as he was also Judas, and also Lucifer, and also Mercury, and Apollo, and Eris the goddess of strife, and as many more as we like.

P. 53. When people live no longer, they go to another world. Our forefathers called that place Hell, the Hades of the Bible and of the cultivated nations. But Baldor expired

¹) Numbers, Ch. 22, v. 29.

and went to another world. Thus again a Baldor-myth, imitated from the death of Jesus. Else Baldor could not have gone to another place, a spirit-house, when he died!

P. 53. Criminals are punisht. Loké, the actual plotter of the death of Baldor, Hado being only Loke's unconscious and innocent tool, was a criminal. So he was seized by the Gods and bound to a cliff, and there he remains helpless till Ragnarök, the weird-day of the Anses. Thus a copy from the punishment of Satan. — Unhappily, however, the Devil, who instigated the Saviour's destruction, was not bound. Nay, in the Revelation of St. John we are told that tho Satan is now free he shall not always remain so, for that the time *shall* come when he shall be manacled for 1000 years, then let loose for a while to do his worst against the saints, but shall be miserably crusht at last, and shall then be tortured in Gehenna, the Bottomless Pit, — for ever.

Here, then, is a great discrepancy. How shall we get over it? Of course the *Bound* Loke was copied from the *Unbound* Satan all the same. But how? — Here again arises the question, whence and when comes the *Bound Devil*? It is in no canonical Gospel. It is in no apocryphal Gospel in this way. It crops out later in another shape. The earliest known instance is in the Greek Nicodemus, Part 2, about the 6th century. Here, after the triumphant Healer has harried Hell, he commands the Angels to bind Satan, and then delivers him to Hades, the king of Hell, to be kept safe in fetters till the day of doom. — In the Latin version of this Gospel, text B, about the year 600, Satan is chained by Hades *before* the arrival of Christ in the world of spirits. — In the Old-English version, about 1st half of 11th century, Christ seizes and binds Satan, giving him to be guarded as a prisoner by Hades¹).

¹) See p. 16 of *Evangelium Nicodemi* (from an early 11th cent. codex) in *Heptateuchus* by Edw. Thwaites, 8vo. Oxoniæ

Now whence this bound Evil-One, a trait altogether unknown to the orthodox Christian Church, and whose earliest appearance is in a heretical book in the 6th year-hundred after Christ? I do not know. I never heard of any one who pretended to know.

There are 3 ways open. It may have been an *anticipation*¹⁾ of the threatened *future* chaining of the Fiend,

1698. In this O. S. E. prose text the *masculine* HADES (the *masculine* INFERNUS of the Latin version) is every where translated SEO HELL (the HELL-QUEEN), as a woman. — In the large fragment of the Nicodemus Gospel interwoven in the versified N. English Cursor Mundi (Part 3, p. 1038, &c.), this Scandinavian-pagan SHE has sunk to the Greek-Latin HE, but also to IT, as in modern English and modern Scandinavian. And no wonder. The Cursor Mundi is more than 300 years *later* than the O. S. Engl. Nicodemus. — In this same Cursor Mundi. Nicodemus fragment it is *not* said that Christ *binds* Satan, when he delivers him over to King Hell.

- ¹⁾ This «lucus à non lucendo» would seem impossible. But what cannot ingenuity effect? The Evil One is an element in the great chapter of Biblical Eschatology. The subject is immense; the variations, contradictions, crotchets of the Fathers are endless. I will give one example, from an author we all so highly honor, connected with those «historical, allegorical and moral» interpretations of Holy Writ which not unseldom led to such strange results. S. Gregory the 1st or the Great (544—604), in his «Libri Moraliū sive Expos. in lib. beati Job» (ed Parisiis 1705, fol. Vol. 1), again and again reminds us that the Devil freely wanders and freely tempts. Yet at col. 260, b. 8, ch. 7, sec. 39, the Whale is Leviathan and Leviathan is the Devil and the Devil is *in prison*. That is, the Fiend-Whale *swims* among the *wicked thoughts* which fill the *heart* of the sinner, and the sinner's heart is therefore *the prison* of Satan.

Another step, and the *prisoner* is also *bound*. After again quoting the famous passage in the Apocalypse, Ch. 20, v. 1—3, which speaks of the chaining to take place *in a distant future*, the pious Bishop continues (Col. 1059, b. 32, ch. 40, sec. 22):

spoken of by St. John. — It may have come in, over Alexandria, from the East, tho from what exact school or quarter

«Ligatus quippe missus in abyssum perhibetur; quia re-
trusus in pravorum cordibus,
potentiâ divinæ dispensationis
adstringitur, ne inquantum
nocere valet, effrenetur. ut
quamvis per eos occultè sæviat,
ad violentas tamen rapinas
superbiæ non erumpat.»

*For he is spoken of as cast
BOUND into the abyss, be-
cause, driven down into the
hearts of evildoers, he is held
fast by the might of the divine
dispensation; lest, were he able
to do hurt, he should show
unbounded fury. In this way,
tho he secretly may rage within
them, his haughty insolence
cannot break forth in open
violence.*

Yet another «allegorical» gloss, and Satan is more than Bound, he is DEAD. For, at col. 498, b. 15, ch. 221, sec. 70, we read:

«Illi quippe in inferno juxta
illum sunt, in quibus idem
malignus spiritus mortuus
jacet.»

*For with him in Hell are
those [sinners], in whom the
same malignant spirit lieth
DEAD.*

Things however are in reality not so fortunate. The writer's meaning is, that the «Ipse» of the context is the *Friend*, while «in congerie mortuorum» is *in the multitude of sinners*, whose souls are dead to God and goodness. If sinners in this way are DEAD, much more so is the Serpent himself, the great Tempter.

More than DEAD, the Devil is even EXTINGUISHT, altogether ANNIHILATED. Further we cannot go in transcendental exposition. At col. 108, b. 4, ch. 3. sec. 10, we see that the Evil One is now bound by the fetters of his own wickedness. But hereafter he shall be covered, hidden, FORGOTTEN and EXTINGUISHED in the cloud of his own selfwilled darkness, deep in unfathomable Gehenna for ever! — I need not add, that all such dreamy individual speculation had and has nothing at all to do with the actual traditionary art symbols of the olden Church, as used by Clergy and Laity in all lands.

The accomplit Latin Father St. Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne in Dauphine, flourisht about 500. Books 1—3 of his Poemata are a «Paradise Lost». The «Angelus» falls and becomes «Hostis». Thereafter he is called «Draco» and

»Serpens«. He is everywhere the FREE TEMPTER. In Book 2 we have the characteristic lines, (containing so much »survival« of olden folk-lore):

»Et nunc sæpe hominum, nunc ille in sæva ferarum
Vertitur ora, novos varians fallentia vultus.
Alitis interdum subito mentita volantis
Fit species, habitusque iterum confingit honestos,
Apparens nec non pulchro ceu corpore virgo,
Pertrahit ardentes obscena in gaudia visus.
Sæpe etiam cupidis argentum immane coruscat,
Accenditque animus auri fallentis amore,
Delusos fugiens vano phantasmate tactus«.

After a monologue of despair and defiance, the fallen angel decides on tempting the »protoplasts«. He accordingly speeds to Paradise, weaves round him an airy mantle — the shape of a Dragon — and commences the temptation of Eve. — See the collected writings of S. Avitus, in Migne's *Patrologia*, 8vo. Vol. 59, Paris 1847, col. 331, C.

Among other such fancies S. Gregory also has the artificial, not to say revolting, speculation — based upon the wellknown fact that the death of Christ was a mistake, the Devil only hereby showing he was a FOOL — that Christ was *the Fish-hook* swallowed by Satan to his own destruction. This idea was worked out in detail by a voluminous Father who flourished about 1300. Leviathan, the Fiend, swims about in the deep of the world. God the Father turns fisherman that he may snare him. He gets a Rod (the »Crux Sancta«), to which he fastens a line (»Christi Genealogia«), and to the end of this he fixes tempting food, Christ himself, whose »divinitas« is the angle (»Aculeus«) while his »humanitas« is the tempting bait (»edulium«). In this way Leviathan is caught, to his own perdition. (*Honorius Augustodunensis sive Solitarius*, *Sermones seu Speculum Ecclesiæ*, Colln 1531, 8vo. fol. 123 v^o.). An echo of this strange and rarely used grotesque trifling found its way to Iceland, doubtless from Christian England. It is in Ælfric's Homilies (ab. A. D. 1000), Vol. 1, pp. 215, 217, and thence in later O. E. Sermons. In the Old Icelandic Homily-book (ab. 1175—1200), p. 75 in Th. Wisén's edition, *Leviathan* is glost »miþgarþer ormr«, it being also called in the text RAVENOUS WHALE, GREEDY FIEND, WORM and DIABOLUS. A later leaf of this same Homily (ab. 1200—50, see K. Gislason, *Um Frumparta*, p. CIII) has the same gloss, »miþgarzormr«. The whole passage is in Wisén:

þat sýnde drottenn þa es hann mælte wiþ enn sæla iób. Monn eigi þu draga leviathan (miþgarþer ormr) a øngle eþa bora kiþr hans meþ báuge. Sia gleýpande hvalr merker gróþgan anskota þann es svelga will allt mannkýn i dauþa. Agn es lagt a øngol en hvass broddr leýnesc. þenna orm tók almáttegr guþ a øngle. þa es hann sende son sinn til dauþa sýnelegan at líkam en osýnelegan at guþdóme. Diabolus sa agn líkams hans þat es hann beit oc villde fyrfara. en guþdoms broddr stangaþe hann svasesm øngoll.

This the Lord showed, when he spake to the blessed Job: Canst thou then draw Leviathan on a hook, or bore his jaw with a ring? — That ravenous whale marks the greedy Fiend, who will swallow all mankind in death. A bait is laid on the angle, but a sharp spike is hidden. Almighty God took this Worm on the angle when he sent his Son to death, visible as to his body, but invisible as to his divinity. Diabolus saw the bait of his body, which he bit and would destroy, but the spike of his divinity gored him like a hook.

It is also used in the 60th stanza of «Lilja» (a religious poem called the Lily), by Eysteinn Asgrímsson, Regular of the Monastery of Þykkvibær, about the middle of the 14th century. It is thus given in English, about the same time, in the North-English oldest text of the Cursor Mundi, Part 3, p. 968:

And als (as) þe fisch right wit (with) þe bait
 apon (upon) þe hok is tan (taken),
 For þof (tho) he sagh (saw) him man als man,
 his godd-hed sagh he nan (none).

Now at his page 10 Prof. Bugge uses this also as a loan-source, and says that the Scandinavian heathen myth of Thor fishing with a gigantic ox-head for the Midyard-worm — was copied by the Wikings from this Christian middle-age mysticism!

But there was another and much older similar patristic speculation hereon. St. Augustine, the famous Bishop of Hippo, tells us (about A. D. 400) that the Cross of Christ was God's MOUSETRAP («Muscipula»), baited with the blood of the Redeemer, and that by this Satan was taken prisoner. (*St. Augustinus*, Migne, V, 745, 726, 1210). What a pity that «the Wikings» did not also herefrom take occasion to invent a new myth, about Thor catching Leviathan or Loke or some body else in a Mousetrap! — As I have said,

such individual sickly dreamings were confined to cloister-walls, had nothing to do with the actual symbolism of the Church. As far as I remember, the Art of the *whole Christian world* does not show *one single old example* of Christ figured or painted as a fishing-bait or a Mousetrap! — At pp. 162—180 of an exhaustive work on one branch of this subject (Early Drawings and Illuminations. An Introduction to the study of Illustrated Manuscripts; with a Dictionary of Subjects in the British Museum. By Walter de Gray Birch and Henry Jenner. 8vo. London 1879), we have the result as far as the enormous treasures of the British Museum are concerned, gathered from all Christian lands and times. Here we have, distinctly enumerated as to Ms. and Subject, no less than 2362 pictures connected with Christ, of which 190 are «Mystical». *Not one* of them has anything to do with Our Saviour as a Bait, either on a Hook or in a Mousetrap or anything however remotely similar.

The solitary instance of olden Bait-picture given by Dr. J. Stockbauer (Kunstgeschichte des Kreuzes, Schaffhausen, 1870, 8vo., p. 233) and by R. Köhler (Der Leviathan am Angel, in Germania, vol. I, p. 158, Wien 1868) is *an error*. The painting at Aquileja which they refer to is from the 9th century, *not* the 12th, and was first engraved in C. Zardetti's «Monumenti Cristiani», 8vo., Milano 1843, (later given in Le Baton pastoral par Barrauld et Martini, Paris 1856, p. 52, and Mel. d'arch. T. 4). It shows the Crucifixion, symbolically treated. At the foot of the Rood springs forth a Vine, which runs up and winds round Christ's body, branching out on each side at his breast. One long limb, held by the crowned Ecclesia on the right of the Saviour, descends nearly to the earth, and is there sucked by a Fish. This is the usual emblem of a *Christian*, feeding on the Mystical Vine CHRIST. Under the left arm of the Redeemer is Saint George (*not* St. Michael) slaying the Dragon. On his left is the uncrowned Synagoga. — We have the same rare Life-Vine emblem on the Otervad granite Font from West Gotland, Sweden, panel 7. (See «Thunor the Thunderer» by Prof. Dr. G. Stephens, London 1878, 8vo., or the Danish edition). This is from about the year 1000, and we there see the Christ-Vine, one twig of which is sucked by a HUMAN HEAD. — Again on the often engraved beautiful 14th century grave-slab in Hexham Abbey Church, England (plate 17 in E. L. Cutts's Manual), is a rich Vine whose two roots are sucked by 2 HUMAN HEADS, *Baptized Christians*, instead of

by two Fishes. And doubtless 2 persons rested in that tomb. — A *very late* (12th cent.) and very preposterous *variant* (God fishing with the Crucified to catch both *men* and the Devil) is mentioned by Didron (Christian Iconography, by Millington p. 349): «a miniature in the manuscript of Herrade. God the Father is there represented holding in his hand a line, which he casts into the abyss of ocean. The line itself is formed of the busts of patriarchs, prophets and kings, enchained one with the other, from Adam, who is nearest God, down to David who is next to the hook; the bait, in fact, is no other than Jesus the Saviour, attached to the cross. Jesus descends into the abyss, seeking Leviathan, who bites the cross by which he is to perish, while Christians cling to it as the means of their salvation. *Hortus deliciarum.*»

It is true that I have met with *one* example of an approach to fishing; but it is applied to DEATH, MORS, a man, «the king of terrors», in spite of the Latin feminine gender. We see him in a miniature of *Livre de Choeur*, a Ms. from the Cathedral of Worms, but now in Bibl. de l'Arsenal in Paris. It is engraved p. 505 of P. Lacroix, *Vie Milit. et Relig. au Moyen Age*, Paris 1873, who makes it of the 8th or 9th cent. Here Christ, seated, holds a chain fixt to Death, prostrate and fettered. whom he tramples on with his foot. The Saviour drives into his mouth (from which the blood is spouting out) the butt-end of his Cross-headed Spear. In the inscription the Spear-end is called an Angle, HAMUS. We see that this fanciful use of Hamus or Hook depends on the struggle between Christ and *Death*. The latter would hold the lifeless Redeemer fast. The former rises again triumphant, ascends into Heaven, leads captivity captive, and thus becomes the death of Death. The words at the foot of the drawing are:

»Hic residens solio *Christus* iam victor in alto
Mortem calce premit colligat atqve fodit.
Dvmque salvtiferam vult mors extingvere vitam
Infelix hamo deperit illa svo..

This curious picture is also described and figured in the valuable work of the French archæologist Didron on Christian Iconography, (p. 299, 300 of E. J. Millington's English translation, Vol. 1 — all publisht — London 1851). The Catalogue of the Arsenal Library dates this Missal from the

I cannot say¹⁾. — It may have been copied from the Northern Baldor myth, for Gothic arms and arts had been known for many centuries in the East and West in the 6th

9th or 10th century. But M. Didron says: «I should rather think it of the eleventh.»

April 1882. — DEATH played a curious part of old also in another way. In the early Christian middle-age grew up a scheme for fortune-telling, the use of numbers, ciphers, in relation to a body called DEATH. The oldest limning of this being known to me in this relation is the Sphere of Death in the Leofric Missal, a skinbook written about 970, now in the Exeter Cathedral Library, England. He is here shown naked, save a slight covering round the loins, with spiky nails shooting out from his fingers, knees and heels, hair on chin and breast, 2 horns on his head, 2 wings, and his locks forming 3 serpent-headed rays on each side of his head. A double glory-ring is round the upper part of the body. This strange idea is called the Sphere of Apuleius, author of the Golden Ass. Somewhat varied, this Sphere is also given in *Barthii Comment.*, libri ix. Frankfort 1624, col. 1404. See hereon the Rev. F. E. Warren's account of the Leofric Missal in The Academy for Dec. 17, 1881, p. 456.

- ¹⁾ A separate class of apostate Angels is those who went in to the daughters of men and begat on them the Giants. Of the leader of these it is told, in the pre-Christian Book of Enoch: «Again the Lord said to Raphael: Bind Azaryel hand and foot; cast him into darkness; and opening the desert which is in Dudaël, cast him in there. Throw upon him hurled and pointed stones; covering him with darkness. There shall he remain for ever; cover his face, that he may not see the light. And in the great day of judgment let him be cast into the fire». — Archbishop Laurence. The Book of Enoch. Æthiopic and English. 3rd ed. Oxford 1838. 8vo. p. 9, 10. — In the Sibylline Books, Book 1, these «Watchers» in general are described as chained and reserved for Hell, in the same way — In the beautiful 18th chapter of «The Testament of Levi» (a little after A. D. 100), the words *And Beliar* [BELIAL, the Devil] *shall be bound by Him* [the Lord Christ], *and He shall give power to His children to trample on the Evil Spirits*, in the original Greek, would seem by the whole context, to refer to the end of the world,

yearhundred, and Greek-writing heretics and bookmakers copied from all quarters. — All we can say is, that *the Bound Devil* in the West is a rare and heretical idea, till we meet it in *full vigor* very *early* in *England*, where we know the Scando-Angles settled so largely. This makes it likely that Gothic Scandinavia is the place whence this idea was first fixt in the West. I shall have occasion to return to this question hereafter.

P. 54. But Prof. Bugge has yet another proof of loan from Christendom. When Death snatches away our nearest and dearest, *we weep*. Maria, the Holy Mother, wept at her son's death. Frigg also shed tears when Baldor fell. This most wonderful and extraordinary event — that a mother should bewail her son's death — could never have entered the mind of any old Scandinavian before the year 800. He therefore mechanically *borrowed* the incident bodily in the 9th or 10th century from the death of Jesus.

P. 55. But also *all Nature wept* at the death of Baldor. This was taken by the Wikings from the same circumstance when the Redeemer expired. Only, there is this difference; in the Holy Gospels we have not *one word* about all Nature weeping, when Our Lord gave up the ghost. However, nothing is easier than to show that Holy Scripture's direct witness is here of no value; for Prof. Bugge asserts that St. Gregory the Great, about the year 592, says that all Nature *did* weep at Christ's death.

the restoration of all things, the final doom. See Robert Sinker, *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum*. 8vo. Cambridge 1869, p. 148. — Compare the above 18th chapter of Levi with the Revelation of St. John Ch. 2, v. 7, and Ch. 20—22.

Perhaps the oldest Devil known to us in sculpture is that on the Assyrian bronze tablet autotyped in *Revue Archéologique*, Paris, Dec. 1879, with descriptive text by M. Clermont-Ganneau. The fiend is here a winged lionheaded monster, made up also of leopard, bird and serpent.

Now Gregory was Bishop of Rome, a good Christian, and not likely to add to the sacred orthodox record. But Prof. Bugge gives us his Latin text, to show that he really did so. Yet, curiously enough, in these Latin words of St. Gregory, as quoted by Prof. Bugge, there is not *one word* about all nature weeping. He only moralizes at the hardness of the human heart, which had no feeling for the miseries the Saviour endured at his *birth* and at his *decease*, whereas the elements knew his divinity and took part in his sufferings. The earth trembled, the Sun hid its light, the rocks and walls were rent asunder, Hades gave up some of the dead — That is all. And all these signs and wonders are repeated literally from the Holy Gospels, where no one has yet dreamt of finding all Nature weeping.

So, to strengthen his argument, Prof. Bugge adds that these expressions of St. Gregory were adopted by the English poet Cynewulf, who, as he thinks, lived in the 8th century, and that therefore Cynewulf also says that all Nature wept. Now Cynewulf was a gifted scald. As such, in his powerful paraphrase of S. Gregory, he naturally embellishes and amplifies what the holy Bishop had written. Cynewulf's points are, shortly, these: The dumb creation sorrowfully lamented the Lord's sufferings. The Sun was dimmed. The veil of the temple was rent. The walls and stones burst asunder, the sea lashing the shore. The stars lost their brightness. Dead men lived. Trees dropt bloody tears. Only the hearts of men were harder than flint.

I appeal to all. Is there anything in this, more than a poet's impassioned rendering of Gregory's prose, and is there here *one word* about all Nature weeping? Are Cynewulf's lines in any sense a picture of the fall of Woden's son? — At the most we may say, that, judging from the remarkable phrase *Trees dropt bloody tears*, we here may suspect more than mere poetry. Cynewulf expresses the above in

5 lines of verse, which I here give, with Thorpe's English translation (Codex Exoniensis, p. 72):

»Da weard beam monig	Then was many a tree
blodigum tearum	with bloody tears
bi-runnen under roderum	suffus'd under <i>the</i> heavens;
reade and picce	red and thick
sæp weard to swate.	<i>their</i> sap was turn'd to gore.*

Undoubtedly this looks very like a reminiscence of part of what took place at the death of Baldor. If so it is a *survival* from the heathen myth, and is half unconsciously used by the Christian singer. In that case, however, this weeping of the Trees — *if* pagan, and it has never been found or heard of in any olden *Christian* record — was not *invented* by the Angle bard, but was known to him by the tradition of his Danish contrymen even then still largely heathen¹).

¹) In the 14th cent. Northumbrian codex of Cursor Mundi, (Part 3, p. 958, foll.), we have most interesting lines on the wonders at the death of Christ:

pen wex (waxt, grew) þe day dym & merke,
 þat men moȝt se no light,
 Thoru-out all þe werd (world)
 Os (as) it wore (were) merke (dark) night.
 Fro undre (undern, forenoon) vnto none it last (lasted),
 þe son (sun) wex blak & bloo (blue),
 Agayns kynd (its nature) hit miȝt not schine,
 And the moyne (moon) als-soo (also).
 Litel wondre me think it was,
 þaf (tho) þai miȝt not schine,
 When þe lord of son & moyne
 Tholed (suffered) in erth slik (such) pyne.
 Þe son withdrogh (withdrew) his ligt,
 And non (none) til (to) erthe it sent,
 Apon (upon) hom (them) to schine
 þat his lord so schent (tormented)
 Þe son wex merke, þe erth (earth) quoke (quaked),
 Þe stons (rocks) clef (cleft, split) als-soo,
 Dede men risen (rose) out of þer graue.

But Prof. Bugge himself admits (p. 56) that in Classical stories the decease of divine persons is lamented far and near. Why then, if he never will admit *parrallels*, did he not trace this particular to some old Classical story, instead of making it a mere vulgar middle-age loan from the death of Christ?

However, at p. 62 it is plain that this episode *was* taken by the Wikings from Cynewulf, or somebody else; for that bard adds a little later, that by his death Christ

þe temple vayl clef in twoo.
 Syn þe erthe miȝt not thole (bear) þi ded (death),
 Als (as) we in boke rede (read),
 Ful hidously þen con (gan) it quake,
 When þou deed (died), for drede (dread).
 Tres (trees) ne (nor) stons tholed it noght (not),
 For þen brast (burst) þai als-soo,
 þe clothe (veil) þat in þe temple was,
 In middes (midst) it clef in twoo.
 Throgh stones (grave-stones) in sunder brast
 And ded bodyes gon (gan) rise,
 Loke (see!), ilk a (each) creature for his ded
 Made doyl (lament) on þer wise.
 Alas! man, whore (where) is þi hert,
 How may þou here (hear) þis?
 Bot if (unless) þou quake for care,
 Grete doyl (sorrow) of þe it is.
 Al creature for his ded (death)
 made doil (lament) & pite,
 And þou þat he deed fore (died for),
 cannot sorus (sorrowous, sorrowing) be
 Him was not geue (given) so mikel plas
 War-on (whereon) he miȝt dee fayre (die fair),
 Ne a torf (sod, clod, bit) of herd erth
 But deed (he died) »heȝe (high) in þe air.«

Here »ilk a creature for his ded | Made doyl on þer wise | Al creatures for his ded | made doil & pite« are *either* POETRY, as elsewhere, *or* a faint echo of HEATHEN BALDOR-TRADITION yet left in England. Other such examples, in English, could be added.

had restored Paradise, and that for this great gift, this rich inheritance, unhappy men *showed him no THANKS*, *þonc ne cuðon*. But Loke *also* showed no *thanks*, for he shed *dry* tears at Baldor's fall. This was natural, for he had plotted that God's ruin, and, as he says, had nothing to *thank* him for. But just therefore he — who had murdered and had nothing to *thank* for — gabbed and insulted the forthfare*n* instead of weeping for him, taking for that purpose the shape of an old witch called ÞOKK, which word is now, without appeal, here to mean *thanks*, and to have been transferred with this meaning by the Vikings from Cynewulf's innocent English word ÞONC. Unfortunately, however, the English word ÞANK or ÞONC is *masculine*, and Loke therefore ought to have taken the shape of a man, a *wizard*. But we have reckoned without Norse-Icelandic. In that dialect — all whose *oldest* monuments are *modern* — ÞOKK in the sense of *thanks* as well as of a *giantess* (whether these be one word or two different words) is *feminine*. But this is a small matter, scarcely worthy of Harlequin's wand. Loke, as we know, was not particular as to sex. So *Heigh-Presto!* Loke bows to the Icelandic gender, and in a little minute is a woman, an *old witch*, petticoats and all!

May we venture again to remark, that genders are continually altering from the earliest times in all lands, and even in the same land in different provinces or even the same province; and that in the oldest days in some districts of Norway and Iceland ÞOKK — then doubtless pronounced ÞANK — *may* have been *masculine*. However, this masculine ÞONC is, according to our learned critic, a fatal proof that neither the English nor the Germans ever had a Lóké shedding dry tears in the shape of a man, an *old wizard*. — ÞONC being masculine, the English and Germans could not let Loke (if they had him) *remain* a man. But the Norse-Icelanders could instantly *change* Loke into a Hag, a woman, because *their* ÞOKK was *feminine!*

May I also add, that I do not know the gender of *TAKK* in Old-Danish; in later Danish it is of the common gender, and therefore we are helpless. But, from the masc. *Mæso-Gothic* *ÞANKS* downwards, in the Swedish, English, Frisic, Saxon and German dialects, this word was *masculine*. In O. Swedish Rydqvist doubtfully supposes it to have been feminine, merely because it is feminine in Icelandic. Schlyter marks it feminine without giving a reason, but referring it to the Icelandic, which was therefore his *only* reason. All older and younger Swedish dictionaries make it *masculine*, and according to Rietz it is still masculine in all the Swedish provinces. Apparently, therefore, this word was *every where* masculine of old in the Scando-Gothic *tungs*, only becoming feminine in the later Norse-Icelandic. So much for the endless caprices of gender, as of everything else in language, and so much for systems of mythology built on such sand!

P. 63. Christ shall come again in his glory. So shall Baldor. This feature is therefore clearly copied from Christendom.

P. 64. A voice from heaven spoke to Jesus *BEFORE* his Crucifixion. This was why the Wikings fabled that *WODEN* whispered in Baldor's ear *AFTER* he was dead!

At p. 69 we learn, that, as Christians in the West early pilgrimaged to the Holy Land, and some few priests might learn Hebrew, as St. Jerome and others had done before them, therefore Jewish legends also were used by heathen Wikings, in the 9th and 10th centuries, for manufacturing heathen myths. At least *some* Jewish tales *were* known in Iceland, long after that island had become — *Christian*!

But if it was absolutely necessary that Baldor's death by missiles should be a modern loan from Christian sources, why did not Prof. Bugge take the prototype which suits so admirably and lay so near his hand — the martyrdom of

St. Sebastian, a subject immensely popular, and which filled the Christian world with works of art seen by the Wikings times without number? This Hallow fell a victim to the fury of Diocletian in 288, shot and beaten to death with arrows and clubs — just what Prof. Bugge was looking for.

And if this original were not approved, as not familiar to the Wikings, it not being sufficiently *popularized* in Greek and Hebrew, why did not our learned author choose a later parallel, the death of St. Edmund king of the East Angles, martyred by the Danes in 870? This date would suit exactly, 9th century. Our chivalrous friends the Danish Wikings first offered their royal prisoner life and kingdom, if he would forsake the Christian faith and reign as their vassal. He refused like a man. So they first beat him with clubs, then scourged him with whips, then bound him to a tree, and then shot arrows at him till he died. Could anything be better? It is delicious, and evidently took place that it might be used by Prof. Bugge as the source of Baldor's death. Certainly the Wikings were much more likely to add this exploit to their Baldor-Christ, than to use the Crucifixion of the Prince of Peace — who was not shot to death at all!

The Blind Devil.

I have not patience to go thro the excursus on Loké, p. 70. I will only remark, that one of Loke's brothers is **HELBLINDI** (the Whole-blind). His name Prof. Bugge explains at once (p. 72), by the remarkable news that the Devil is *blind!*

Would to God he were!

It is true — which is quite a different thing — that the archfiend *is* blind to *his own interest*, as all wicked beings are. Old poems and legends often express this, the Devil himself acknowledging that his grand plot, the death of Christ, only ended in the Salvation of mankind, his own

confusion, and his loss of the souls he had imprisoned in Hell. Just so, he is even called A FOOL. But we have not yet found that the Wikings, for all that, gave Loke a 4th brother, one HELFÓLL. For instance, in the Latin Gospel of Nicodemus, Part 2, about 5th century, after the King of Glory has seized Satan and delivered him as a thrall to Hades, that King of Hell says in Cowper's English translation, p. 358: "Then Hades, receiving Satan the prince, with strong rebuke said to him, O prince of perdition, and leader of destruction, Beelzebub the mockery of angels, and the contempt of the just! Why hast thou determined to do this? Hast thou resolved to crucify the King of Glory, in whose removal by death thou didst promise us so great spoils? Like A FOOL thou knewest not what thou didst."

But Prof. Bugge tells us that the Devil was *often* called *blind*. And of this *often* he gives *one* solitary Scando-Gothic example, from an Old-South-English Ms. of the close of the 10th century, the prose legend of St. Andrew. Here that Hallow says to the fiend: "Forþon þe þu eart blind þu ne ge-sihst ænigne of Godes þam halgum". In Goodwin's translation, p. 17: "Inasmuch as thou art blind thou seest not any of God's holy ones." — The words are plain enough. But as in old *Glosses* we are always liable to be misled unless we consult the originals in Greek or Latin or what else, so we must do the same, if possible, with older *translations*. Now while the older O. S. E. *poetical* legend of St. Andrew is a paraphrase from the Greek, and does *not* contain the above passus, so the younger O. S. E. *prose* text which *does* contain it is also a greatly shortened version from the same Greek. The original was published by Tischendorf in his "Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha", Lipsiæ 1851, 8vo. pp. 132—162, "The Acts of Andrew and of Matthew in the city of the Man-eaters". He has used several Mss., the oldest fragments being from the 8th century. The passage

in question occurs at p. 157 in Tischendorf. It is in connection with the following context:

St. Andrew, at Christ's command, enters the city of Marmadonia. No one can see *him*, but *he* sees *all*, delivers the Christian prisoners, whom the heathen inhabitants intended to torment and then to devour, and retires to a column. These Marmadonian pagans were therefore BLIND, for they could not see St. Andrew. On the contrary, they saw as well as you or I. But they were blind *ad hoc*. The omnipotent made their eyes dim *so far as the Holy Andrew* was concerned, that he might not at once fall a victim to their beastly fury. Here then comes in Prof. Bugge's Blind Fiend. The Devil appears to the people, bidding them seek out and kill St Andrew, who has freed their bondsmen. St. Andrew sharply rebukes him. The Evil One says, he hears and understands the voice, but knows not where the speaker stands. The Hallow answers in the original Greek: *Πρὸς τι οὖν ἐπικέκλησαι Ἀμαήλ, οὐχ ὅτι τυφλὸς εἶ, μὴ βλέπων πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους.*

Now as the whole turns on these words, I will not give my own rendering, but that of my learned Classical colleague Prof. Dr. J. L. Ussing, whom I askt to Danish these Greek words for me, without telling him for what purpose. He kindly did so, and he permits me to add his translation: „Hvorfor kaldes Du da Amael? Mon ikke fordi Du er blind, i det Du ikke kan se alle de Hellige? D. v. s. alle de Hellige ere usynlige for Dig.“ This will be in English: *Why art thou called Amael? Is it not because thou art blind, in that thou canst not see all the Saints? That is, all the Saints are invisible to thee.*

We see then, by comparison of the two texts, the Greek and the later abridged O. S. E., that the latter, which gives the 3 Greek lines here by 2 English, merely signifies that the Devil was not blind bodily, but that his own malice dimmed his eyes, sharp enough to behold all others, so that he could not see *Holy Men*, who are under the Almighty's

own fatherly protection. — Thus this one instance of a *blind Satan — falls away*¹⁾.

The Ruthwell Cross.

P. 42. We are now able to take up the Ruthwell Cross. As it is of the utmost consequence to this argument, I beg to ask your kind attention. I wish to discuss it very quietly and very impartially, so that all may judge. It is true that Prof. Bugge absolves it in a few lines, while I shall be compelled to devote many pages to it. My apology is, its being a matchless Northern monument, — the finest Runic Cross in the world —, and its many other valuable details. It was handled by me in the 1st Vol. of my *Old-Northern Runic Monuments*, published in 1867, and the views I there express have been admitted by all our best English critics to be correct. I may add that the Casts of all the runic letterings, from which I made my rune-transcripts in my drawings of the whole Cross, as executed by Prof. Magnus Petersen, were given by me to the Danish Museum,

¹⁾ There is another curious occurrence of this BLIND; but it is given to HADES the Hell-King, as I have said, always translated SEO HELL (THE HELL-QUEEN) in the O. E. text printed by Thwaites. It is used only in the *Greek* text of the Gospel of Nicodemus, Part 2, p. 306 and chapter V (XXI) in Tischendorf. Not being found in the 2 Latin texts, it is also absent in the O. E. version. It is used by David in his rebuke to Hades, whom he addresses as τυφλῆ. The whole context is, in Cowper's translation (p. 306): "On hearing these things, the forefathers all began to reproach him [Hades], saying, All-devouring and insatiate, open, that the King of Glory may come in. David the prophet saith, Knowest thou not, o BLIND ONE, that when I was living in the world, I predicted this voice, Lift up your gates, O ye rulers?"

Hades was BLIND to Holy David's prophecy. But otherwise how dreadful is the sharpness of the Hell-King's glances!

in the same way as I have given all my other runic casts; and there they might easily have been examined by Prof. Bugge, who studied many other *less* important Runic casts from Great Britain deposited in *the same* Museum.

The result to which I came was, that the poetical stave-rime lines in Old-North-English on this Cross, as our famous John Mitchell Kemble had already made good, were a part of the Dream of the Holy Rood, *the Cross itself describing* the Crucifixion of Christ, as *seen by itself*, its words being *heard by the English poet* in a Dream. This happy identification was made by Mr. Kemble previous to the publication of the precious Vercelli codex from the 10th century in O. S. E., which among other pieces and poems contains this remarkable and beautiful lay. This, therefore, proved Kemble's wonderful sagacity and correctness.

But I also showed, from a cast of the top-stone, which was *unknown* to Mr. Kemble, that there were runes there also, which said: CADMON MÆ FAUCPO, *Cadmon me made or composed*, equal to the usual Latin CADMON ME FECIT.

I then concluded that this Cadmon or Cædmon was the well-known splendid North-English Bard whose fame is so widely spread, and who has left such noble stave-rime verses on Biblical subjects, — but only extant in a 10th century Old-South-English transcript. This appeared to me certain, from the peculiar characteristics of Cædmon's known writings; from the name Cædmon being so excessively scarce of old, there being no more than perhaps a couple antique examples of it in all Britain, and none in any other country; from all the other details of the Cross, which point back to the 7th century; and from the impossibility of 2 Shakespeares living at the same moment in the same locality. I therefore fixt its date at about 680, nearly the year of Cædmon's death.

I then argued that certain expressions in the verses suit only, and must have been an echo of, the Northern

Baldor-myth, which was still living on in England, but must have been centuries older, for the language and traditions of the Angles in Northumbria were brought by them from Scandinavia, chiefly from Denmark. If so, if these words referred to Baldor's death and were heathen remembrances, an intermixture of pagan and Christian ideas, the myth being known in England hundreds of years before the 7th century, its home must originally have been Denmark in the 2nd og 3rd century. In all this I have been upheld by the best critics in England and America. But, if I am right in this, Prof. Bugge's theory as to the Baldor-myth being manufactured by Wikings in the 9th or 10th century — falls away at once.

Let us now examine Prof. Bugge's objections. I take them *as they stand*.

1. I date this Cross "in the 2nd half of the 7th century". My date is about 680, a considerable difference in so delicate a question.

2. In Note 1, p. 42, our learned critic says, that I read on the top-piece CADMON MÆ FAUGŒPO, adding, that if this be correctly redd, FAUGŒPO cannot belong to the O. E. verb FEGAN. German FÜGEN, but must belong to the verb FAGIAN, meaning to adorn, decorate with figures and letters, and that MÆ will therefore be the stone Cross, not the poem. He adds, that this FAUGŒPO, as to its ending, is "høist betænkelig", *highly suspicious*. Lastly, that as this inscription is very doubtful, and he has not himself seen it, he dare not decide whether it be redd correctly.

This conclusion is curious enough. What surprises one is, that a monument so exceptionally remarkable, bearing such costly verses in the precious O. N. English dialect, whose antique remains are so very scarce and of such value in the study of the oldest Scandinavian, should not have been interesting enough to lead him to examine the casts in the Danish Museum, he passing them every day

when he lookt at other such of less consequence. Had he done so, he would have seen that the words are *not* doubtful, but have been redd in the same way by all who have seen them.

It is certainly unfortunate that FAUCŒPO ends in -O, for Prof. Bugge has laid it down as a law that this O-ending only belongs to the *first* person of the past tense. Hence he brings in his I, *express* or understood, into several of the O. N. runic inscriptions, doing violence to the language to get this I, and tho this I-formula in solemn epigraphs was unknown to our heathen forefathers, and has even never been found in the thousands of ristings in the *later* runes. On the other hand there are many examples of this final -O or -U, 3 s. past tense, in the O. N. runes, beginning with the TÆUIDO of the Golden Horn, and scores in the *later* runes. The difficulty of this -O is therefore entirely of his own making, and is neither my fault nor the fault of the Cross.

But by an additional ukase Prof. Bugge announces, that FAUCŒPO can have nothing to do with FEGAN. Now it is well known that an olden FAGAN, FAGIAN, has left many traces in the Scando-Gothic tungs, a whole armful of varying side-forms and mixt forms and side-meanings and mixt meanings, inextricably running into each other as so often, from FAW to FAIR, in sense from *make* and *fit* to *please*. Hence an endless overgang in the vowel, especially in times when local talks were so many, one fixt and hard book-language *nowhere*. We need go no further than to our own oldest runish remains to prove this, for we have in them already 10 examples of this verb in the 3 s. past, cut on pieces in the usual way for *made me*, like the Latin FECIT, which word also has many curious spellings of old.

3 s. p. FÆIHIDO, Einang, Norway. A. D. 200—300.

" " " FYLÆI, Charnay, Burgundy. " 400—500.

" " " FULPE, Osthöten, Rheinhessen. " "

" " " FIBÆDU, Bracteates 49, 49 b. " 500—600.

3 s. p.	FAUÐPO, Ruthwell, England.	680.
" " "	FÆEPÆ, Bracteate 89.	600—700.
" " "	FEG(de), Ahnnouth, England.	705.
" " "	FAPĭ, Helnæs, Denmark.	A. D. 750—800.
" " "	FAAÐO, Flemløse, Denmark.	800.
" " "	FYIPI, Bracteate 92.	550—600.

These facts speak for themselves. Of these 10 examples no 2 are alike in spelling, while 4 in this single verb end in -O or -U. Besides the usual FAPĭ, still other variations occur in the later runes.

Perhaps we may now permit the "highly suspicious" FAUÐPO, 3 s. p., to stand, and even allow that the MÆ means the beautiful poem, here so exceptionally carved on a public monument, — the more as no known antique O. N. runic Cross bears the name of the artist who carved *the stone itself*.

3. The Danish archæologist Dr. Sophus Müller is of opinion, that the Ruthwell Cross cannot well be older than about the year 1000. He comes to this conclusion from the ornamentation, which he places in the late Carlovingian period, the style being imported from France into England.

Now no one is more willing than myself to admit the merits of Dr. Müller's brilliant essay¹⁾ on the Northern Ornamentation, from whose pages we have all learned so much. But I think he has sometimes been misled by his theory, that the ornamentation shall *always* date the object. I contend that all *other* things shall also be taken into consideration, and that these are often *absolute and final* as to the date, so that sometimes the *object* must date the *ornamentation*.

This dispute has wide bearings, also as to Scandinavian art in general. There are certain features in Classical art, such as Leaves and Foliage and full Flowers, which point to a Classical origin and great antiquity. There are certain

¹⁾ Dyreornamentiken i Norden. Af Sophus Müller. Kjøbenhavn 1880, 8vo.

other added art-motives, such as band-interlacings and dracontine and winged and other creatures, which indicate a development of the former style with non-classical intermixtures, also very old. This *intermingled* style was taken up by Charlemagne in France, eagerly cultivated there, and is named by some the Carlovingian renaissance. Now if this were really first established in the 9th century by Charlemagne and his school in Gaul, it must be much younger in Scandinavia and England. But the Ruthwell and the Bewcastle Crosses bear these characteristics. The Ruthwell Cross is therefore not from about the year 680; it is not much older than the year 1000.

Here I would remark, in all humility, that the illustrious men of Scandinavia have certainly known something about the history and the art of *their own lands*. And, also in all humility, I would add, that this sharp theory of Dr. S. Müller is opposed to the united testimony of all our best and most learned men in England, in older and later days, many of them profound archæologists and historians, some of them also architects of world-wide fame, men versed in stone and metal, and who have themselves raised Churches, Monasteries and Cathedrals for the worship of God. They, too, must surely be supposed to know *something* of the antiquities and styles of *their own land*, which they have studied for centuries, the one following the other from youth to old age.

The opinion of the English school is very shortly given by me in Vol. 1, p. 400 of my O. N. R. Mon., in connection with the grand Bewcastle Cross in Cumberland, Northumbria, which English scholars agree in dating at about 670. But the date of *this Cross also* has of course been explained away by a mere stroke of the pen, altho the long inscription in the oldest runes plainly tells us that it was raised in memory of ALCFRITH, king of Deira (the southern part of Northumbria), by his half-brother king ECGFRITH OSWISON. The

runes also name the family mourners, KUNNBURUG, Alcfrith's Queen, her sister KUNESWITHA, and WULFHERE king of the Mercians, who was son of Penda and brother of KUNNBURUG. — Surely simple, honest, unlearned people like ourselves might have thought that this grave-pillar might have been respected. But no. Dr. S. Müller touches it with the wand of his theory, and it melts away altogether. I am not aware that he has given it any date. Perhaps "about the year 1000" would suit him here also.

Apropos of this Bewcastle Cross. It is curious to see how things work in this world. Both the Bewcastle and the Ruthwell Crosses can be dated by their many O. N. runes, which had past out of use on public funeral monuments in England by the year 1000. But the Bewcastle pillar has also an *historical* statement, and no fewer than 5 *historical* names of the local king and his house. The Ruthwell Cross, besides the very archaic Roman letters, has 25 lines of verse in the oldest English runes, in a per-antique dialect, and with heathen ideas. Both have in the main the *same* ornamentation. If these *stones* can be dated, their *decoration* must be *equally* old. In that case the Northumbrian Casket with its characteristic inscription in the Old-English runes, is of the same general age. But if so, other of our oldest English runic and non-runic pieces will follow suit, and those of Scandinavia in the same style of art will follow, — and so this type of ornamentation will be thrown centuries back both in England and Scandinavia. But this cannot be. What would then become of the theories of Dr. S. Müller and of Prof. S. Bugge? Can nothing be done? Certainly.

Dr. Müller is a distinguisht archæologist, and *that only*. As such, and not as runologist, he simply *ignores* such small things as Runes, Linguistics, Palæography and History. Keeping strictly to Ornamentation, which *he says* overrides everything and dates everything old and new, he pens a

short off-hand sentence in words the fewest, and the age of the Ruthwell Cross (and by implication that at Bewcastle) sinks at once to about the year 1000. And this he does, because Prof. S. Bugge, the profest *runologist*, authorizes him so to do.

On the other hand Prof. Bugge, the distinguisht runesmith, washes his hands of archæology and ornamentation as helping to date any runic inscription. That is Dr. S. Müller's business. So he thus, as linguist, and *as linguist only*, pronounces as to the Bewcastle Cross (quoted in S. Müller's «Dyreornamentiken» p. 155): «den foreliggende Læsning og Tydning ikke er fuldstændig sikker og paa-lidelig», *the reading and explanation given is not entirely certain and trustworthy*. In *one line* the whole is decided. We have heard the Oracle. *Papa locutus est. Causa finita est*. Prof. Bugge does not say *where* the imperfection lies; or *what* he means by «entirely»; or that *all* the principal runewords on this Bewcastle Cross are plain enough practically; or that as to the main points all its translators are agreed, including the late learned Mr. Maughan, himself a runologist, the Priest of the Parish, who saw and studied the Cross daily for many years; or that 1 or 2, or 3, or even 4 or 5 doubtful letters in such a long inscription will not affect its general meaning and the style and character of the whole splendid Pillar, still less *abolish the existence* of the well-known *historical names*, the buried king and his successor and his family, 5 names in all, which separately and taken together *inevitably* clench the date. In this way *the one* of these unwelcome witnesses is quietly got rid of.

As to the Ruthwell Cross, where one would think nearly *all*, in the eyes of a runologist, would depend on the wonderful and archaic O. N. English runic poem, Prof. Bugge — who elsewhere can write *whole pages* on one letter or one word — simply shakes his head and passes on. His words are (*not 2 whole lines altogether*), at p. 42, note 1: «Da Indskriften desuden er meget utydelig og da jeg ikke

selv har seet den, vover jeg ikke at afgjøre, hvorvidt den er rigtig læst. That is: *As the inscription, besides, is very indistinct, and as I have not myself seen it, I dare not decide how far it is correctly redd.* Now in these short 24 words we have yet room for 2 assertions and 1 conclusion. The first assertion is, that *the runes on this top-stone are very indistinct.* The second is, that Prof. Bugge *had not himself seen the inscription.* The conclusion is, that *he dare not decide how far it is correctly redd.*

A lately deceased learned Englishman, the Rev. D. H. Haigh, who was a good runic scholar, who spent his life in seeking for and copying and explaining and publishing the oldest sculptured and inscribed stones in Great Britain and Ireland, and who was an excellent archæologist and numismatist, familiar with ecclesiastical architecture and ornamentation, and who himself at his own expense built a beautiful little Church in the olden style, — with his own hands made the plaster casts of all the Ruthwell runes from which I and my artist Prof. Magnus Petersen workt, and which are now in the Danish Museum. May such a man be allowed to form any opinion? If he may, let us hear what he says in his valuable paper on this Cross in *Archæologia Æliana*, New Series, Vol. 1, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1857, a paper written BEFORE he visited Ruthwell and made a cast of the top-stone. At p. 156 he declares that the Bewcastle Cross was raised in memory of king *ALCFRID*, exactly as Mr. Maughan and I have said. At p. 173 he states: »I believe this [Ruthwell] monument, and that at Bewcastle, to be of the same age, and the work of the same hand, and the latter must have been erected A. D. 664 or 5. Now this was precisely the period at which Cædmon, first of all the English nation, began to compose religious poems, in the monastery of the Abbess Hilda.» At p. 176 and 177 he says: »The scroll-work on the eastern side of the Bewcastle monument, and on the two

sides of that at Ruthwell, is identical in design, and differs very much from that which is found on other Saxon crosses. In fact I know of nothing like it except small portions on a fragment of a cross in the York Museum, on another fragment preserved in Jarrow church, and on a cross at Hexham.*

*At Barnack, in Northamptonshire, three miles from Stamford, there is a church the tower of which, presenting on three sides scrolls with birds, and windows filled with tracery of interlacing knotwork, is certainly a work of the seventh century, and one which I always regarded as a relic of the monastery built by St. Wilfrid in this neighbourhood on land granted to him by Alcfrid¹). Here, then, *before* the inscriptions on the top-stone — omitted in the engravings of Dr. Duncan and therefore unknown to Mr. Kemble — were restored to us, Mr. Haigh places these two monuments between 660 and 670, and concludes that the Ruthwell runic poem must have been written by Cædmon.

Now as to the top-stone. This was copied by Cardonnel in his large folio engraving publisht in London in 1789, but which Dr. Duncan and Mr. Kemble had never seen. On Cardonnel's plate — tho he was no runologist — the CADMON MÆ FAUCĒPO are nearly as plain as on the cast copied by me. And when Mr. Haigh had examined the Cross itself, and had made the cast of the top-stone, he wrote to me under date Oct. 4, 1863, giving the runes as

¹) In the 2nd tome of Dr. John Stuart's magnificent and solid work *«The Sculptured Stones of Scotland»*, (he under the last word taking many monuments in North England), folio, Edinburgh, 1867, which reached me *after* the printing of my Vol. 2 was completed, the learned author engraves and describes *not a few* other such stones, *unknown to Mr. Haigh*. They also are in the same style as the oldest Crosses given by me, and are attributed by our English and Scottish experts, including Dr. Stuart himself, to the 7th, 8th and early 9th centuries. *Others* have since been found.

CADMON MÆ FAUGEÐO, exactly as I have done. Thus Prof. Bugge's first assertion, that the runes here are «very indistinct», falls away.

As to the second assertion, that the learned critic *had not himself seen the inscription*, why did he not examine the cast in the Museum, comparing it with Cardonnel's plate made nearly 100 years before, of which I had an expensive facsimile made and placed in my book where it was well known to him, or why did he not visit Ruthwell itself as I did the moment I could, — ere he came to so sweeping and injurious a conclusion, one which affected the eyes and character of gentlemen as honorable as himself?

We have now only Prof. Bugge's gracious *conclusion* left; that he «dare not decide how far it is correctly redd.» Mighty well. We doff our caps, and lout very low. But as he would not take the necessary steps, absolutely shutting his eyes to the plain facts and the long and detailed statements in my text — my paper on the Ruthwell Cross fills 43 pages in folio, which swarm with details of *fact*, besides the 2 large plates — he must abide by the verdict of other men, as competent as himself, who admitted facts and statements whose very existence Prof. Bugge studiously and carefully kept back from his readers. They could therefore have no suspicion that anything existed, to gainsay and invalidate and disprove his *2 assertions* and his *conclusion*.

This, then, is the way in which our learned critic has given his death-doom in less than 2 lines. Altogether ignoring the runic inscriptions and everything else on the Cross, he merely uses Dr. S. Müller's hasty and short and peremptory verdict, that the ornamentation dates it at about the year 1000. So everything else disappears, and this monument also «goes out of the Saga», to the mutual satisfaction of both parties and the salvation of both theories. But whether this curious facile method, this mere abuse of subjective caprice, this more than ridiculous personal

infallibility, can be approved by a reality called SCIENCE — I shall leave for others to decide.

In more particular connection with this Ruthwell Cross, I will recapitulate the English view in the fewest words possible.

a. Roman Art in Britain. England was for 350 years a Roman province, full of Roman Camps and Cities and Villas with many yet extant Tesselated Pavements, and Temples and Art, and in daily intercourse with all Italy and the Roman world in general. I need not speak of the thousands of Roman remains in England called Altars, Grave-stones, Mile-stones and the like, many of which are highly decorated and not a few can be year-set; but in the rich cities of luxurious Roman Britain were all sorts of artists and workmen, Roman and Roman-British and other, who produced articles after Roman and modified-Roman models. Well known are the many Roman Kilns in England, where were made immense supplies of Pottery of all kinds, sometimes even imitating with some success the celebrated Samian ware. And among these objects the Roman ornamentation is frequently perfect. Such things as Tiles and Bricks often bear Legionary marks, and can be exactly dated. The Roman-British workshops have long past away. But the Kilns and their pottery remain, and this elegant terracotta with Roman ornamentation would be seen everywhere by the Barbarians who used or destroyed it. These Roman-British Kilns have been hidden by the earth for 1500 years, and are now time after time accidentally discovered, and examined by modern antiquarians.

b. Welsh-Christian Art in Britain. Christianity reacht Keltic-Roman England in the 2nd and 3rd century after Christ¹), whether from the Eastern or the Western

¹) In Wales alone 479 village names remain, chiefly derived from local saints who flourisht in the 4th and 5th centuries. Cornwall follows, with such in the 5th and 6th.

Church is for this argument immaterial; in either case its Christian-Keltic Art — and *some* such Art it *must* have had, was partly Classical. After the Angles had ravaged and subdued the land, many Christian Churches were still standing, some perfect — as that of St. Martin in Canterbury¹⁾, in which worshipt the Frankic princess Bertha with her Bishop Luidhard, in 597, tho her husband king Æthelberht, lord of all the under-kings from Kent to the Humber in the North, was still a pagan. Many of these buildings, and other such Roman-British structures, were more or less injured or destroyed; but all must have been enricht with at least *some* Italian-Keltic ornamentation. Such decorations *must* have been seen by, and *must* have influenced, the victorious invaders when they used these places, unaltered or restored, for secular or Christian purposes.

c. Heathen-Northern Art in Britain. The Barbarian invaders of Britain came chiefly from the North in the Early Iron Age, a period when the North itself was largely penetrated by things Roman or Romanized and by olden «Classical» art-motives in general. They *could* not therefore have been ignorant of such. And wherever they went south and west, they came in contact with them. But when they subdued the half-Romanized British Kelts, they found Classical art everywhere in the land, and this would inevitably influence their own vigorous Barbarian styles. In

¹⁾ As far as is known, this was the oldest church in England. It was dedicated in honor of the famous St. Martin of Tours, to whom also was hallowed the «White House», Candida Casa, on the promontory now called Whithern, by the earliest missionary bishop in Southern Scotland. «Before long», says G. F. Maclear (Conversion of the West: The Celts. London 1880, p. 43), «no Celtic missionary from Ireland or Scotland thought of commencing his work in Frisia or Thuringia before he had first visited the shrine of the saint whose dying words had been «*Non recuso laborem.*»» Abbot-bishop Martin died about A. D. 400, over 80 years of age.

the pottery they themselves made, they even imitated some ornaments of the simpler Roman ware.

d. Christian-Northern Art in Britain. But their conquests brought the Northern Barbarians face to face with a new factor — Christian populations. And by degrees, commonly after a few years, they themselves adopted the new faith. The influences for this step were very strong. Classical paganism was now almost extinct; Scando-Gothic paganism was daily giving way; most of the Goths were already more or less Christianized. In their new island-home Welsh and Keltic Christianity was all around the Angles, like as the same creed now covered most of the adjacent continent; even as heathens they intermarried with Frankic and other continental Christians, and their chiefs were sometimes baptized in Gaul or elsewhere abroad. Besides far older *Family* and local conversions, *Tribal* evangelization among the Angles in North England set in, thanks to the Keltic missions from Ireland (Christianized in the 5th century) over South Scotland, before A. D. 650; in the south, king Æthelberht and his court and people, influenced by the Roman mission under Augustine, embraced the Gospel in 597. But *Conversion* meant in some degree *Culture*, and *Culture* was largely *Classical*. As Christians, the Northern settlers at once past over to the decencies and ceremonies of Western Belief, and to the Italian and Gallic decorations in the Churches and Monasteries. There and elsewhere, they saw things influenced by Roman-Christian types mixt with Barbarian or Keltic motives and ornament, while crowds of all ranks and both sexes continually pilgrimaged to Rome to Italy to Gaul and elsewhere, and English art-work became famous.

e. S. Wilfrid. As early as the end of the 4th century St. Ninian, after visiting St. Martin Bishop of Tours and being ordained by him, built a stone church in the

foreign style at Whithern or Candida Casa, in Wigtonshire, Galloway, among the Southern Picts, quite close to Northumbria. — Edwin, the great king of Northumbria, was baptized in 627, and raised a small church *of wood*. Shortly afterwards Paulinus, as bishop of York, built a large church *of stone*, enclosing the wooden one. Paulinus was *an Italian*, sent over by Pope Gregory the Great long before. So quickly *may* such things sometimes take place, all theories notwithstanding. — In 676 Benedict Bishop brought over from Gaul a number of skilled workmen, who built him a stone church in the Roman fashion at Wearmouth in Durham. The next year he sent to Gaul for Glass and Glaziers, that the building might have glass windows. All sorts of church furniture, decorations and vestments also came from Gaul. And we are told that the *English* workmen learnt to make many things, instructed by the *French* workmen. The great and good Benedict Bishop was *six times* in Rome and Italy. — In 710 Naiton, king of the Northern Picts, sent for foreign masons, and built himself a stone church in the Roman fashion. — But notably one accomplit and illustrious Evangelizer, the renowned Bishop Wilfrid, labored enthusiastically to extend Roman church-cusoms and Romanized Christian Art in England in a Gallo-Roman-Northumbrian style, frequently visiting the continent and bringing over numbers of Italian and Gallic workmen. He was especially a great builder, and in a costly manner, in stone. He died in 709, at the age of 75. He and his school covered the North of England with fine specimens of this Gallo-Italic-Keltic-Gothic — or in one word Northumbrian, art, which went on extending and flourishing in Britain down to the end of the 8th century and later.

f. Charlemagne. The great Emperor Charlemagne highly favored this development, modified and protected it, sending to England for the best English clergy and

artists¹⁾ to introduce her learning and improvements into his wide lands; and this style became so popular in Gaul, that from him it has been called Carlovingian.

g. The old style perishes. In the 9th and 10th centuries, however, the Scandinavian Wikings and Royal Throne-seekers ravaged Great Britain and Ireland. They systematically broke down or burnt all the holy buildings. Particularly Halfdan and his followers in 870—4 destroyed all the monasteries and churches in the North of England and South of Scotland — the old Northumbria —, and these ruined establishments were not finally restored till after the Norman conquest²⁾. Accordingly, almost all the striking English antiquarian stones, ornamented in the peculiar style of art now under discussion, whether with or without Runic

¹⁾ I will only mention *one* among the distinguisht men invited over by Charlemagne to Gaul, the illustrious Alcuin. »Amongst his scholars in the Palatine school«, says Smith, (*Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Vol. 1, p. 74), »were Charles himself, with his sons Charles, Pipin, and Lewis, his sister Gisela, and his daughter of the same name; Angilbert, afterwards abbot of St. Riquier; Adalhard, abbot of Corvey; Rigbod, archbishop of Trèves; Rictrudis, a noble nun of Chelles; and Gundrada, the sister of Adalhard. His most famous pupils during his later years at Tours were Rabanus Maurus, afterwards archbishop of Mentz; Hatto, abbot of Fulda; Haimo, bishop of Halberstadt; Samuel abbot of Lorsch, and afterwards bishop of Worms; Adalbert, abbot of Ferrières; Aldric, bishop of Sens; and Amalarius, deacon of Metz.«

²⁾ »The churches at Jarrow-on-Tyne and Monkwearmouth, built by Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid, who sent the architects to King Nectan to build him a church after the Roman manner in the first quarter of the eighth century, were both destroyed by the Danes in 867, and both remained in a ruined condition till 1074, when they were reconstructed and restored to sacred use. It may be possible that some part of their remains, as now existing, may be of the original construction, but this fact is undetermined.« — *Jos. Anderson. Scotland in Early Christian Times. 8vo. Edinburgh 1881, p. 55.*

or Roman letters or both, are found scattered about, or in churchyards, or are dug up on ecclesiastical sites or are discovered as mere building-materials used in far later times, when old Churches were rebuilt or restored, — exactly as the old Runic stones of Scandinavia are usually found at this moment.

h. The new style. But by the Norman conquest, as all know, this Roman-Gallic-Gothic-Keltic style, with Roman letters of the oldest type and with its now nearly forgotten Old-English Runes on Royal and Episcopal grave-pillars and the funeral Crosses of eminent laymen, — was *gone out*, extinct in England. A *later* taste prevailed, and inscriptions were now in the Roman letters of the middle-age.

For all these reasons, it is *absolutely and physically impossible* that the Ruthwell or the Bewcastle Cross can be «from about the year 1000» or anything even approaching there to.

At the same time it will follow as a corollary, if we are to venture on pithy glib-sounding extreme statements either way, — that it would be more correct to say, that the Carolingian Renaissance substantially *went from England to France*, rather than the contrary. It is certainly a monstrous contradiction of all the known facts to assert, that everything bearing the art-characteristics of this Renaissance in England and Scandinavia — is «from the 9th century» or «as low down as about the year 1000.»

What should we reply to a theory which affirmed, that a noble monument was raised — for instance in Denmark — bearing the oldest Northern Runes, in an excessively antique oldest Danish dialect forming stave-rime verses in which clearly survived the heathen Baldor-myth, hundreds of years after the Kingdom had become Christian, with Latin sentences added in letter-shapes of the rarest in the barbarian west, and with ornamental figures going back to the oldest Italian-Gallic-Gothic schools — and

that this Pillar was set up by or in memory of some Danish king of the 12th century, say *Waldemar the Great*?

4. But I now come to Prof. Bugge's last argument, that the words (which he admits the Ruthwell Cross bore) WITH STREALS (or missiles) WAS I ALL WOUNDED, do *not* apply to the Cross itself, the wooden Rood, but are said of *the living Christ*, and this long before his actual Crucifixion, when he was attackt with swords and staves and otherwise insulted.

This is extraordinary, a good specimen of the extreme ingenuity and special pleading with which the gifted author everywhere tries to escape from or to explain away the simplest realities. And the whole rests upon a fundamental error, persevered in *notwithstanding* my having distinctly pointed out the truth in my reading and comment of 1867. But this truth would strike down the Wiking theory. It was therefore ignored. *Long live theories, however many facts perish!*

The mistake is this. The Dream of the Holy Rood, of which a part is cut on this Ruthwell Cross, is, as we know it complete in an O. S. E. 10th century transcript, a stave-rime poem in 314 lines. The first 54 tell us how the author falls asleep, and dreams that he sees the actual Cross on which the Saviour suffered. Shortly after, in his dream, he hears this beam, this Rood, this wooden Cross, describe the death of our Lord on its bosom.

The first actual words *spoken by the Cross*¹), as the Bard listened to them in his dream and as he remembered

¹) (Added in Sept. 1881. — This is the earliest metaphorical introduction of THE WOODEN CROSS *speaking* known to me. It is a bold feature of poetical and religious art, and has apparently not been often used later. I only remember it once again in English. This is the «Dispute between Mary and the Cross» in the Vernon Ms., date about 1370. It is printed in Dr. R. Morris's valuable «Legends of the Holy

them when he woke, are given by him in lines 55—166, thus in 102 lines, which we may call the Cross-words part 1. They are a panorama of the Passion.

Rood« (8vo. London 1871, pp. 131—149, in 40 stanzas containing 528 lines of verse), and opens:

Oure ladi freo',
 on Rode treo',
 made hire mon:
 Heo seide on þe
 þe fruit of me'
 is wo bigon:
 Mi fruit I' seo'.
 in blodi bleo'.
 Among his fon,
 Serwe I' seo',
 þe veines fleo'.
 from blodi bon.

A variant of the same text, in the somewhat later Royal Ms., 18 A 10, is given by Dr. M. in the same work pp. 197—209, in only 372 lines. — For the 2 other examples elsewhere, we have to thank the accomplished French savant Prof. Paul Meyer. First is a Latin poem written early in the 13th century, in which the Virgin Mary utters four 9-lined stanzas, reproaching the Rood for having become the instrument of her Son's death. The Cross defends itself in six similar verses. This piece begins:

„Crux, de te volo conqueri:
 Quid est quod in te reperi
 Fructum non tibi debitum?“

It is printed for the first time by Prof. Meyer in „Daurel et Beton, Chanson de Geste Provençale, publiée pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit unique appartenant à M. A. Didot“. Paris 1880, pp. lxxv—lxxvij. (Soc. des Anc. textes Franç.)

The second, dated 1345, is in a Provençal dialect. It opens imperfectly from a damage in the codex, but has still

The next actual words *spoken by the Cross*, — which we may call the Cross-words part 2, are given in lines 157—244. In these last the tree or Cross expounds the meaning of the awful death it had just described, refers to the promised uprising of Christ from the dead, speaks of the great Judgment to come, and ends by bidding us so use this holy sacrifice as to work out our own salvation.

The remaining lines, 245—314, the Cross being now *silent*, are *added* by the English poet, and are a grand outburst of beautiful verse, in which the Scald longs for the heavenly fruits of Christ's death, the joys of Paradise.

Now what concerns us here is — the Crucifixion-words spoken by the Cross in Part 1; for these alone are carved upon the stone. The 2nd part of the Cross-words is only homiletic. Even the 1st or Crucifixion section contains 102 lines, and there was no room on the Runic parts of the stone pillar for so many. Several lines — how

126 lines left. After Our Lady's first (defective) words against the Tree, the »Respon la crotz a Marie« commences:

»Dona, salvant la vostre honor,
Nous deu pas creyse la dolor.
Non dit jes que fayt aiat
Per que de vos si sie ostat.«

The debate continues, thus summed up by Prof. M. (p. lxxij).
»La Vierge reproche à la croix sa cruauté envers le Sauveur. Celle-ci se défend et fait valoir d'ingénieux arguments. Elle a agi comme doit faire un loyal serviteur à l'égard de son seigneur. Jesus voulait mourir pour racheter le genre humain: elle s'est conformée à sa volonté; elle a servi d'instrument à la rédemption; elle n'avait ni le droit ni le pouvoir de résister à la volonté divine. Enfin, elle explique allégoriquement les souffrances de Jésus, cherchant à montrer que chacune d'elles était nécessaire, et de la sorte le débat devient un petit traité théologique de la passion.« — This piece also is published, for the first time, by Prof. P. Meyer in the same work, p. lxxix—lxxxv.

many we do not know — have been broken away from the pillar, which has suffered severely here and there. At this moment only about 25 lines, out of the 77 in the Vercelli codex to which they more particularly answer, are left on the stone. And even these 25 are not consecutive; but we can perfectly follow the order and meaning by help of the precious skinbook containing the whole lay. Now what does this 77-lines' section, all uttered by the actual Beam or Rood on which Christ hung, and 25 lines of which are still left on the stone Cross, tell us? I will mention, quite shortly, the particulars:

1. The Tree tells how it was cut down in the wood, the holt, («holtes on ende», Vercelli Cod. l. 58)¹).

2. How it was carried to a hill, and fixt up there. (Verc. Cod. l. 64).

3. How «the FREÁ of máankind», «the young helt» (the youthful hero) prepared to mount it. (V. C. l. 66).

4. How the Saviour was fastened to its bosom with nails. (V. C. l. 91).

5. How Christ dies. (V. C. l. 98).

6. How the Rood is reddened by the blood which flowed from his side: (The man who pierced his side is not even named, still less is there one word as to his being *blind*). (Verc. C. l. 98).

7. How the Redeemer hangs on the Cross, gloomy clouds about him, heavy shadows over the shine-path. (V. Cod. l. 108).

¹) We see by this that the *later* (middle-age) legend, which carried the beam out of which the Cross was made to the *Temple in Jerusalem*, whence it was dragged by the Jews and fashioned into the Rood, was *unknown* to Cædmon. If it was a *Tree*, cut down in the *holt*, it could not have been a piece of *timber*, lying in the *Temple*. This also is a proof of great antiquity.

8. WEPT ALL CREATION,

WAIL'D THE FALL OF THEIR KING. (V. C. l. III).

9. The Tree further relates how Christ's friends take down the lifeless body. (Verc. Cod. l. 122).

10. How the Rood is now left empty, steaming with blood, and how it was:

WITH STREALS (arrows and other missiles) ALL WOUNDED. (Vercelli Codex l. 126).

11. How the Cross sees the Healer's dear ones stand over his corpse. (V. Cod. l. 129).

12. And how it beholds them burying the lifeless lich in a stone sepulcher. (Verc. C. l. 140).

13. How the 3 Crosses stand and mourn. (V. C. line 143).

14. How men drag down these 3 Crosses, dig a pit and bury them. (Verc. C. l. 151).

15. How that very Cross on which Christ thus suffered was dug up again — it is not said when or by whom — and how *this Rood, which is the speaker*, was bedeckt with gold and silver. (Vercelli Codex, l. 156).

All this is the language of the Cross itself, in its striking picture of Christ's Passion, which now ends. Hammerich's Danish version takes the same view¹).

¹) *Fr. Hammerich. De episk-kristelige oldkvad hos de gotiske folk. 4to. Kjøbenhavn 1873, p. 17, 20:*

Mandhjems Frøj
 så jeg magtfuld ile; — — —
 Da gjorded sig helten,
 helten hin unge; — — —
 Al skabningen græd
 af gru ved sin konnings fald! — — —
 bloddugt, pilstunget
 blev jeg stående.

After reading the above, there can be no doubt left, that, when *the Cross* says it was

WITH STREALS ALL WOUNDED,

it says quite plainly that *against itself*, the *wooden Rood*, very many arrows and other missiles had been cast, aimed at the man who was *fastened upon it*, and that a number of these bolts had struck *the Cross* and covered it with wounds. Maybe also, in this dim intermixture of heathen and Christian teachings, of BALDOR and of CHRIST, one such »streale«, the MISTELTO, had reacht the Lord himself.

But what is the date? Let us recapitulate.

1. We only know of *one* CÆDMON as a poet, and *he* lived in Northumbria and died there about 680.

2. The runes say that CÆDMON MADE ME, in all reason the precious Runic poem.

3. The Old-English Runes are of the oldest types.

4. The Latin inscriptions are in letter-shapes among the oldest in the English west. Such uncial forms are impossible there in the 10th year-hundred.

5. The ornamentation is the same as on a number of other carvings in Britain in the 7th & 8th centuries.

6. The dialect of the O. North English is of the most archaic class. The rune-lines give also, for the first and last time in England, the antique and otherwise lost Old-English dual ac. pronoun UNGCET for *us two*. The S. E. 10th century transcript has here the usual *later* UNC BUTU, *us both*.

7. So certainly is the S. E. poem a *copy* of something *far older*, that in one place in the Ms. a stave-rime word beginning with *s* has been accidentally omitted by the scribe. But this word, *sorgum*, is in its proper place on the stone Cross.

8. We see also how very far back the Runic Lay is, from its excessively archaic simplicity, the *absence* of »padding«, of later make-up fillings-in, in the verses. The 25

North-English lines contain 81 words; in the South-English 10th century codex they mount up to 101. No fewer than 20 have been added, in gradual transcriptions. One-5th of the whole is therefore *later amplification* in the Vercelli skinbook.

Surely, if we have any honest, solid, careful, comparative, archæological and historical and palæographical and linguistic criticism left — and I think we have *some*, these accumulated arguments *prove* that the date given to the Ruthwell Cross, about A. D. 680, is correct. And in fact the *later* we fix the age, the more incredible and impossible does the whole become.

But in this case we must also remember, that the language and heathen intermixtures here found were not *made* by Cædmon. He spoke, to be commonly understood, the language of his Anglian elders, who had swarmed over to Northumbria hundreds of years before. Their homeland, as all history and traditions and monuments show, was Denmark chiefly, certainly Scandinavia.

The Baldor-myth was therefore known in England, and eventually in Denmark, at least 3 or 4 centuries after Christ, and is here brokenly echoed by the stone Cross about the year 680. Thus it could not have been first made by Wikings in the 9th and 10th centuries.

Loke in England.

And here I will add some words on a remarkable parallel, as regards Baldor's bane, LÓKÉ. But we must first remember, that in all mythologies certain clusters hang together. The particular chain consists of many links, each one necessary to the others, and without which the whole loosens and drops away. They *together* constitute one organic *whole*, the result of long time and long development. Now one of the oldest and widest spread of these yore-world legends is —, some 2000 or 3000 years ago

localized in the North and elsewhere, — *the Deadly Goldhoard*, which afterwards, like all such things, was so continually modified. This legend is now best known as the Volsung-tale or Sigurd-saga. The *dramatis personæ* are ANDWARE, WODEN, THOR, HÆNER, KVASER, LOKÉ, OTTER, FAFNE, and so the VOLSUNG-group and so SIGURD, in England SIGMUND, the Dragon-slayer.

To follow this better, let us for a moment transport ourselves to Sweden. In 1866, in my *O. Northern Runic Monuments*, Vol. 1, p. 224, I publisht a stone from Habblingbo, Gotland, of the 9th century, whereon we see WODEN on his 8-footed steed SLEIPNER, welcoming a chieftain to his Hall, with other figures. It is a heathen grave-slab, inscribed with the later runes. — In the same work, Vol. 2, p. 708, I engraved another block from the same spot and of the same date, on which a Walkyrie receives a fallen warrior in Walhall. It also bears the later runes. — In the Danish «Illustreret Tidende» for May 13, 1877, I made public a third Swedish funeral stone, from Dräffe in Upland, on which is sculptured SIGURD slaying FAFNE the dragon. But, for the first time in Europe, it shows us also ANDWARE the dwarf reaching forth his only remaining golden jewel, the fatal *Ring* with which the Anses covered the last hair of the death-struck OTTER. This piece is from the first Christian age, is incised with the later runes, and must date about A. D. 1000—1050. — My late dear friend Prof. Carl Säve was the first to identify this Sigurd-saga on runic stones, when in 1869 he publisht the famous Ramsund rock-carving and runic risting in Södermanland, a colossal sheet of granite no less than 15 feet long by nearly 8 wide, of which a cast is now in the Stockholm Museum. Besides the usual SIGURD stabbing the Drake, we have here the celebrated horse GRANÉ, the BIRDS on the tree whose talk warned the hero, SIGURD tasting the heart of FAFNE, REGIN and his Bellows and Forge, the OTTER, and so on. At the same time he

communicated the Gök stone from the same Swedish folk-land, bearing similar figures, more or less identical with those on the Ramsund rock. Both these have runic ristings, are early Christian from the beginning of the 11th age, and were so carved because the deceased claimed descent from SIGURD. The many *later* representations from the same Saga-group on Christian Church-doors, Fonts, Chairs, &c. in Sweden and Norway and England, I here pass by.

Now all these things tell the same story or some episode thereof, as the small space on the carved object allowed. But ANDWARE the dwarf with his RING, and SIGURD and the rest, presuppose and include LOKE and WODEN and THOR and all the other actors, without whom the whole figure-carving would be meaningless. These monuments were *cut* shortly after 1000, in far-off districts in Sweden, were a part of the dim and distant local legends and family genealogies, which must go *hundreds of years* further back. How then is it possible that this cluster of tales about Gods and Men could have been manufactured by Wikings some few winters before? And apparently, by the argument, this must have been done in distant Norway or Iceland or Greenland or the Western Isles. First *fabricated* there — No! *Re-written* or re-arranged or expanded or re-localized there — that is quite another thing. As we see, by about the year 1000 these tales were already bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh in the Northern provinces of Sweden, and doubtless had been for centuries.

Another objection to this theory is, the great number and fixt character of the poetical mythical Kennings in the oldest verse. Now a Kenning, picture-synonym, which hangs to and presupposes something else, is necessarily *younger* than that *something else*. If widely known in many folklands, it must have lived-on for centuries ere it could have become popularly understood.

Let us take a local *Danish* example. Were we to read or hear in a Dansk stave-rime stanza:

Danabót
gainst daring foemen
stone-snake strongest
stretcht far out.

most *Danes* would understand it at once, which we could not expect an unlearned Swede or Norwegian to do, it being local and so late in time. Danskers would remember that this word DANABÓT — *the DANES' BOOT*, the Danskers' help and pride — was an epithet or kenning given of old to THYRE, and that this was generally explained by the ancient tradition that this Danish Queen had built up a mighty rampart of stone, timber and earth against the Southrons, this great Danish wall being called DANNEVIRKE from of old to this day. It would never enter our heads that this epithet DANEBÓT, which has long since penetrated the mass of the Danish population as a household term, was *first invented* by some Danish poet or adventurer in the 16th or 17th century. Accordingly, we can accidentally prove that it *is* a *very* ancient by-name in Denmark; for we have still left a Danish runic stone from the middle of the 10th century, (hundreds of years older than any Danish parchment), raised in memory of this same Danish Queen. And on this pillar King GORM calls his Wife THYRE, (as his grateful people had already done), DANMARKAR BUT = *DENMARK'S BOOT*. Hence DANABÓT in the 16th century would mean Queen THYRE, and would really be as old as the 10th year-hundred¹).

¹) As a parallel example, see the masterly way in which Wilhelm Mannhardt (*Wald- und Feldkulte*, Vol. 2, Berlin 1877, pp. 53—77) has shown that the epic tale about Peleus, Cheiron, Thetis and Achilles — not directly used by Homer tho many centuries older than his time, — was yet *well-known to him*, he having employed a couple of «kennings» intimately interwoven with that saga.

As to the age of the Mss., and partly as to the dialects employed, the oldest literary Scandian remains are comparatively modern. Yet Prof. Bugge admits that substantially their contents go back to the 9th and 10th centuries. Now these oldest mythical pieces abound in Kennings, then popularly understood and necessarily very old. It must have taken *hundreds of years* for these descriptive epithets to become the mere building-stuff, the mechanical counters or mosaic-bits, of Scalds and Tale-tellers.

Far older than the parchments are the unfigured Stones. We will not here speak of those in the *oldest* runes, about whose reading we may dispute, and which so seldom contain any longer passage. Confining ourselves to the *later* staves, we will take one of the oldest and most remarkable. This is the largest «barbarian» stone-book in all Europe, it bearing no fewer than 770 letters. I refer to the grand and colossal graveblock at Rök in East-Gotland, Sweden¹), which cannot be later than early in the 9th year-hundred. Its immense poetical inscription commemorates a mighty chieftain in Hraith-Gotland, East and West-Gotland in Sweden, who had performed great exploits by land and by sea. Many of the rune-staves are very antique in type. The language also is archaic. Among other such older things we have the preposition *on* for *o*, as in English, the final *n* not yet nasalized and fallen away. We have also *HUHTAN* for the later *HUHUA* or *HUGGA*, the older *n*-mark as the sign of the infinitive still left, as in Olden English. To give an idea of the splendor of this stave-rime poem, I will copy one stanza: King *WARIN* here describes his son's, *WAMOTH's*, last gallant war-foray, and how he now lies buried in his Wiking-vessel, under the great gravehow which had been raised over both ship and helt:

¹) See it engraved and translated in the 3rd vol. of my *Old-North. Run. Mon.* pp. 41—64, and in *Ant. Tidsskr. f. Sver.* Vol. 5,

PAT SAKUM ONART:

HUAR FUR NIU ALTUM
ON NURPI-FIARI MIR;
HRAIP-KUTUM AUK TUM
MIR ON UBS AKAR.

RAI PURMUPI,
STILIR FLUTNA,
STRONTU HRAIP-MARAR.
SITIR NU KARUR
ROK KUTA SINUM,
SKIALTI UB-FATLAER,
SKATI MARIKA.
RU PI NIMR FLUOI!

We saw thereafter:

*Where, nine ships nearing
far North-shores with me,
the matchless wave-rider
gave might to the Hraith-
Goths.*

*Firm and fearless,
Folk-lord, Ship-lord,
the-strands by Hraith-mere
struck he with awe.
Bides now, belted,
battle-steed holding,
shield on his shoulder,
that shoot of the Marings.
Resteth so there in his
Galley!*

Now this grave-lay contains 3 Kennings. The *first* is UBS AKAR, UBB'S ACRE, the war-acre or field or plain ploughed by the sea-king UBB (a name signifying the *Terrible*) with his sea-oxen or wave-horses, — that is, his *Ocean-gallies*. This particular Kenning for THE SEA has not been found before, but we have scores of others of exactly the same kind. — The *second* is KUTI = GOTI, the name of the famous Horse of GUNNAR GJUKING, who by the aid of Sigurd Fafne's-bane married the Shield-may Brynhild. Hence this word GOTI came to be commonly used as a mere poetical double for a Battle-steed in general. But this, as we must acknowledge, brings-in at once the whole Sigurd-cyclis, without a popular acquaintance with which this GOTI for Steed would not be understood. And this again throws the Sigurd-saga in Sweden nearly 200 years *further back* than the Swedish rune-stones I have spoken of, carved with the Gods and Heroes and things mentioned in that great mythical drama. — The *third* paraphrase-word is the remarkable expression where king WARIN tells us how he saw the hungry wild-beast devouring the dead, fallen on the field. This

side-term is: *HISTR SIKUNAR, SIGUN'S HORSE*. Now *SIGUN* or *SIGN* or *SIGNY* was the half-demonic Wife of the false *LÓKÉ*, and was therefore early lookt upon as a foul witch. In the Elder Edda a witch is spoken of as *riding on a Wolf with snakes as a bridle*, and the same idea is current elsewhere. The *HORSE OF SIGUN*, therefore, is quite simply the Hell-witch's Steed, = THE WOLF. So *Warin* saw *the Wolf tearing the slain*. This kenning for Wolf has also not been found before, but we have several others of the like sort. Now of course a *SIGN* announces a *LÓKÉ*, and a *SIGUN* and a *LOKE* presuppose much more as known. So that here, early in the 9th age, we have, apart from the *Sigurd-Saga*, the *Sigun-and-Loké Saga* so home-wunt, as to have given current popular epithets for a *Battle-steed* and a *Wolf*. Some centuries further back *must* be required, ere these things could have become the mere verse-stuff of the Maker in a far-off Swedish folk-land. But these 500 or 400 years farther back, take us 500 or 400 winters nearer the time of Christ than the 9th and 10th centuries spoken of by Prof. Bugge.

To return to Northumbria and *LOKE*. In 1879, when restoring the old Church at Brough in Westmoreland in the North of England, were found used as building-gear many ancient stones, among them part of a Roman inscription, Brough having been a Roman military station. One of these slabs was the inscribed part of a Runic Grave-cross¹⁾. It seems to be from the last half of the 6th century, is in Old-English runes, bears 12 lines of stave-rime verse, and has the Martyr's Palm-branch cut on each side of the inscription, — the only instance of this grave-symbol

¹⁾ It is of carboniferous sandstone, 23 inches in length, about 12¹/₂ in width, and from 5 to 3 in thickness. See my paper hereon (*Runic Inscription found at Brough, Westmorland*) in "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society", Vol. 5, Part 1, Kendal 1881, 8vo.





CROSS-FRAGMENT. KIRKBY-STEPHEN, WESTMORELAND.

yet found in the North. The risting informs us that the How was raised over a Lady, who had perisht as a Martyr for Christ among the heathen population. The dialect is Old-North-English of the oldest kind with some things in it yet oldest Danish, and in general agrees with that on the Ruthwell Cross.

In the same year in repairing the old Church at Kirkby Stephen in the same county, only 4 English miles from Brough, was dug out one of the blocks of a per-antique Church-cross or Grave-pillar. A cable-pattern ornaments the sides, nothing is on the back. It therefore probably stood near a wall. It is of carboniferous sandstone, 26 inches high by 14 broad. The whole front is taken up with one figure cut in relief, a man with 2 Rams-Horns lying on his back, but curiously BOUND HAND AND FOOT on the point of a rock¹). Its date must be about the year 700. Even if it were 100 years later, it would make no difference to my argument.

Now all our English old-lorists are agreed that this bild represents *the Devil*; and of this there can be no doubt; but how? No such figure has been found before in all Europe.

In its *oldest* symbolization, of which we have so many remains, written and painted and sculptured, the Christian Church had *no* token for the Evil-one in a *human* shape. AS THE VICTORIOUS RULER, we see Our Lord in ancient Christian

¹) The Rev. J. F. Hodgson gave a very small Photograph of this stone opposite p. 186 of the «Transactions» of the Cumb. and Westm., Soc., Vol. 4, part 1, Kendal 1879, and at p. 188 rightly says that it represents «Satan bound». But at p. 309 of my article on the Brough stone, I showed that this figure *could* not be the *Christian* Devil, but was undoubtedly a survival from heathendom, and really represented the only fiend the Angles could understand, their own LOKE, the slayer of the good God BALDOR.

art (often bearing his Cross or the Holy Book) trampling on a Lion or Adder or Serpent. This is in reference to the Psalm in the Vulgate Latin (Ps. 90, v. 13): «Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis; et conculcabis leonem et draconem»; in the English version Ps. 91, v. 13: «Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet.» — As THE VICTORIOUS REDEEMER, Christ (or some symbol of Christ) was represented standing on the Arch-fiend figured under the type of a Serpent or Dragon. From the temptation in Eden downwards, the Devil is a Snake. From the earliest Catakombs downwards, the Serpent is the Tempter. Now and then, a little later, very seldom, to symbolize his talking with Eve, the artist gives to the Worm who is curled round the Tree a human Head¹). — But the Evil One may also be represented typically by an echo or image, something directly in contact with him. Thus, in connection with the miracle of our Blessed Lord when he let the Devils go into Swine, we see Fiends as Swine. The oldest grave-crosses frequently show Christ trampling on a Worm or Dragon; while on the Bewcastle Cross anno 670, and on the Ruthwell Cross anno 680, he treads down Swine.

¹) At No. 7, p. 361, of J. Y. Akerman's Roman Coins (Vol. 2, London 1834), in his description of the usual Gold and Silver money struck by Valentinianus III (424-455), he says: «Same legend. A figure standing, holding a cross, and a globe surmounted by a Victory; his right foot on a serpent». This piece is a Solidus. But his No. 8 describes another such golden coin as follows: «Same legend. A figure standing, holding a cross, and a globe surmounted by Victory; his right foot on a SERPENT WITH A HUMAN HEAD». This is the earliest Coin-instance I know of the man-headed Snake-fiend, as a distinctly Christian emblem of the Fall in Paradise. By a curious inadvertence, this last Solidus of Valentinian III, copies of which are so common in all Classical Cabinets, is *entirely omitted* by H. Cohen in his Médailles Impériales, T. 6, Paris 1862, p. 502 foll.

In the usual way therefore, the block *above* this Kirkby-Stephen Devil-stone was sculptured with the figure of Christ (or some symbol of Christ) trampling on the foul imp below him, as he does on the Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses. If not, it must have borne the figure of St. MICHAEL, the Fiend's triumphant foe, of which we have so many ancient examples. But in Christian art in the barbarian west St. MICHAEL frequently took the place of THUNOR, the great enemy of LOKE and parallel of SATAN in the heathen myths.

I will mention some proofs of this. In an English Ms. in Oxford, from the 10th century, we have St. Michael warring against Satan, who has a human form and a Serpent's tail. — Elsewhere in England St. Michael is armed with the Thunder-bolt, the attribute of THUNOR. — And as THUNOR was the great Protector against Evil even after death, and as we have several Scandinavian runestones on which THOR is invokt to *bless* and *keep* the tomb or the runes, and thus the hero who lay in the Barrow, living there a spiritual life, so we have still left in Scandinavia 6 runestones on which St. MICHAEL is invokt to *bless* and *keep* the Christian dead¹). These stones are: Ängby, Upland; Hasle,

¹) As late as in the 13th century Michael of Kildare thus addresses his patron saint (E, Guest, English Rhythms, Vol. 2, London 1838, p. 336):

Hail seint michel: with the lange sper

Fair beth thi winges: up (= upon) thi sholder

Thou hast a rede kirtil: a non (= down) to thi fote.

Thou ert best angle (= of angels): that ever god makid
(= made).

And no wonder. MICHAEL drove the Devil and his Angels from Heaven to Hell, fights daily against all demons and tyrants, and at the world's end shall slay the Dragon and Antichrist. He took MERCURY's office as Lord of the dread Hades-Balance, with which he weighs the souls, giving to each bliss or woe. And he was the guide and guardian of St. Paul in his journey to Hell, showing him all its horrors, till that apostle by his ceaseless prayers gained from God

Bornholm; Hauggrän, Gotland; Tillidse, Lolland; Clemensker, Bornholm; and Nylarsker, Bornholm. Thus 4 in Denmark and 2 in Sweden.

As I have said, the Early Church knew nothing of a Man-Satan in its primitive typology; the Kirkby-Stephen stone is thus evidently Scandinavian-heathen overgang.

As to the next step, the introduction of even *half* human Devil-figures into Christian art — Classical Centaurs, Sirens, Fauns, &c., with other local pagan half-gods, this, as far as I know, dates no earlier than about the 10th century. In the middle-age, fiends become merely monstrous¹); while the Renaissance gives us Acheron, Charon, Hecate, Pluto, Cerberus and the rest. So often overcome and outwitted or mockt, the Devil at last became also a kind of Vice or Clown.

But the idea of man-shaped Fiends in general was so natural and common a conception, that it was sure eventually to make its way into Christian art. And doubtless it crept in early. In fact some things could hardly be treated without it. For instance, later on, when people begun to represent to the eye the casting out of a Devil by Christ or a Saint, how was this to be done? In the simplest way, they showed a little being in human shape rushing out of the Demoniac's mouth. Even such a small thing as this would familiarize folk with a man's form for a Fiend, with or without wings or tail²).

every blessed SUNDAY'S REST to the spirits in torment till the Day of Doom.

¹) (Added in Sept. 1881). A good and not exaggerated specimen of this class is an Italian group, about a couple of feet high, alabaster, partly gilt and painted, now in Christiania. Date about 16th century. The subject is S. Michael thrusting the Devil down into the flaming Hell. The fiend is FREE, as usual, but has horns, wings and tail.

²) In later Christian art the temptation of Christ was also introduced, which could scarcely be done without clothing

St. Augustine in the 4th century (De Civit. Dei, L. 11, Cap. 33) says that the prison into which the Devils were

the Evil One with a human figure. The earliest example of this known to *Ferd. Piper* (Mythologie der christlichen Kunst, I, Weimar 1847, p. 120) is from the last half of the 9th century. He says: »Aber auch eine persönliche Darstellung des Teufels war dem christlichen Alterthum fremd: er ward nicht anders als symbolisch durch die Schlange abgebildet. Persönlich aber ist er vorgestellt in einem byzantinischen Miniaturbild der Versuchung Christi, welches eine Pariser Handschrift der Predigten des Gregor von Nazianz aus der zweiten Hälfte des neunten Jahrhunderts enthält (Waagen Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris. S. 209. n. 21, b.): er erscheint in ganz menschlicher Gestalt, nur mit Flügeln und von grauer Farbe.« H. Otte, in his Handbuch d. kirchl. Kunst-Archäol. d. deutsch. Mittelalt. 8vo, Vol. 2, Leipzig 1868, p. 895, says: »geflügelt und von grüner Farbe.« — On the same page Otte gives a 13th century Christ tempted by the Devil, who is human and without wings but horned. — I saw in July 1882 in the British Museum a delicately carved seal of GODWIN MINISTER, ivory. Above is the Father (bearing a sceptre), the Son (with Glory, blessing), the Holy Ghost (a Dove). They trample on a prostrate man-bild, the Devil. Mr. Franks dates this piece in the 11th century. — In Paul Lacroix, »Sciences et Lettres au Moyen Age, Paris 1877«, 8vo, p. 245, is a miniature from a Commentary on the Apocalypse, 12th cent. Michael drags down *the Serpent*; below, he is seen *in a man's shape*, FETTERED to a frame. — At p. 241 is a drawing from a Saint-Graal codex, 15th century, showing the Prince of Darkness sitting on a kingstool, 3-faced, 3-horned, and having 5 other faces in his body. He is FETTERED to the chair. — In the Psalter described by Mr. Franks (Archaeologia, London 1880, Vol. 46, Part I, pp. 244 foll.), Psalm 51 has an illuminated Initial showing »Satan appearing to David«. This Ms. is not older than the first quarter of the 13th century, and is supposed to have been executed in Denmark, its Calendar having many entries of Danish celebrities.

Now and then, in the middle age, *Judas Iscariot* was looked upon as a mere Devil. In this case he is sometimes in hell in Satan's place or near his Master, SOUND. The hated heretic *Arius* is also sometimes seen in Hell, SOUND.

cast was *this our earth*, where they live especially in the air. Many of the Fathers teach the same doctrine, pointing out that our earth was a poor and dark and miserable abode, compared with the lustre of the bright and holy heaven which the fallen ones had lost. And this tradition was adopted by Cædmon in England¹), Part 2 (p. 280 in Thorpe):

»Sceal nu þeos menego her
liegan on leahtrum
sume on lýft scacan
fleogan ofer foldan

*Now must this many here
lie in their crimes;
some flit in air.
fly over earth.»*

But if the *oldest* Christian Church had no HUMAN Satan in its bild-craft, still less had it a HUMAN BOUND Satan. This would seem to have been an essentially Northern idea, and to have spread over Europe wherever the Northern Goths wandered or settled²). It is wonderful how long it held-on

being lookt upon us *an arch-demon*. The best known example of all this is in the Cottonian Ms. Titus, D, XXVII, in the British Museum, date A. D. 1012-1020. One of its two outline drawings has been publisht by the English Palæographical Society, in whose series it is Plate 60, and is thus described by the Editor: »a representation of the Trinity, in which the Virgin, bearing in her arms the infant Jesus, and with the Holy Spirit as a dove settling upon her head, stands on the left of the seated figures of the Father and the Son. Beneath the feet of the Son, Satan chained is being thrust into the open jaws of Hell; Arius and Judas in chains filling the lower corners.« — More exactly exprest, the illumination shows us *Christ trampling on the BOUND DEVIL*, the jaws of Hell beneath him, Arius and Judas being also BOUND.

¹) It continues in England down to the middle of the 15th century. See the Master of Oxford's Catechism: »C. where be the anjelles that God put out of heven and bycam devilles? M. Som into hell, and som reyned in the skye, and som in the erth, and som in waters and in wodys«. (Wright and Halliwell, *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, Vol. 1, London 1845, p. 231; J. M. Kemble, *Salomon and Saturn*, p. 218).

²) The oldest orthodox Christian Father known to me, who distinctly speaks of the Devil as *Bound*, is St. Isidore of Seville (*Hispalensis*), who died in 636. He was a high-born

in Scandinavia. Saxo Grammaticus tells us (Hist. Dan. Bk. 8), that OUTYARD-LOKE (Ugarthilocus) was BOUND hand and foot with immense chains. And in Sweden, in the horrible witch-burnings of the 17th century, the mad sufferers affirmed that their Master the Devil was BOUND with great fetters. These they year after year tried to saw away; but the moment a link was nearly sawn thro, an Angel came and soldered it fast again¹). — How different

Goth, and lived among Goths in a Gothic kingdom. In his Sentences (or treatise de Summo Bono, Bk. 1, ch. 28) he says: «Dum in martires dyabolus iam exercuerit crudelitatem magnam etiam LIGATUS. crudelior erit tamen antichristi temporibus. quoniam erit SOLVENDUS.» In other places he speaks of him as a FREE tempter, and in others as a SERPENT. As St. Isidore was so learned and famous a writer, his teaching as to the BOUND Fiend must have had great influence in the West, especially in the Gothic West.

- ¹) In Chapter 13 of his immortal «Ivanhoe», Walter Scott lets Prince John receive a letter containing *only* the laconic notice: «Take heed to yourself, for THE DEVIL IS UNCHAINED!» I have often heard it in England as THE DEVIL IS LOOSE, or HELL AND THE DEVIL IS BROKEN LOOSE. This ancient Scando-Anglic saying is very striking. In Swedish it is now «FAN ÄR LÖS!», in Dano-Norse «FANDEN ER LØS!» As far as I know, its origin has been feebly explained. It is used in a sharply defined meaning, to express a moment when some great convulsion or revolution is at hand, some reaction or surprise or dangerous extremity has taken place, something altogether unusual and unexpected and full of peril. I have no doubt that this phrase is simply an old Christian translation of a similar heathen cry of alarm: «LOKE IS UNCHAINED (LOOSE)!» But this is the same as saying: *Hell is broken loose, Anti-christ is come, the Demon-powers are in battle against God, Ragnarök is here, the Anses will sink in ruin, LOKE'S FETTERS ARE BROKEN!* — (Added in Sept. 1882). My learned colleague Prof. L. H. F. Oppermann tells me, that in his native province, Fyn, the common phrase is: «Fanden er løs, eller lænken for lang!» (*The Fiend is loose, or his link too long!*) This remarkable variation is a further proof, that the whole is a survival from heathendom.

is all this to the oldest Jewish as to the oldest Christian Satan! These malignant beings are always with them essentially FREE. They wander and tempt at will. The earliest Christian announcement about the Devil is, that he is not yet fettered in Hell, but SHALL BE¹). In the 2nd Epistle of Peter, ch. 5, v. 8, the holy Apostle admonishes us openly and with authority: "Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour." *This* is the tradition of the Church, not the centuries later fantasies of half-heathen obscure Heretics.

But in Scandinavia when BALDOR's slayer, LOKE, is doomed, one of his sons is changed into a Wolf and bites his brother to death. With his bowels the Anses fetter the murderer to a pointed rock, and there he shall abide till Ragnarauk. The bowels become Iron, the hardest adamant, and a poisonous snake spits its venom over him.

Can any contrast, both in form and spirit, be greater?

The moment we touch English ground, we find the Devil BOUND. We need only refer to Cædmon's Songs, originally written in North-English in the 7th century, but now only extant (excepting the fragment on the Ruthwell Cross) in S. English of the 10th²). And then we have the

¹) In Book 4, Sec. 7, of his "Recognitiones", the writer who goes under the name of St. Clemens as a Greek Father, and whose date is about the 1st half of the 3rd century, sharply proves that *sinners* shall not be cast into Hell before the end of the world, because not till then shall the Devil himself be cast into its flames. The above work is a curious and interesting religious romance, and contains the oldest Western version known to me of the famous Folk-tale — found in endless shapes and tungs all over Europe — The Chaste Wife, and her happy re-union with her husband and children.

²) Let us hear Satan's own words, written by the Angle bard as spoken by his own national Devil, the false fiend of his

charming legend of St. Andrew, probably of the 8th century, but now only known in S. E. of the 10th. So again the curious "Salomon and Saturn fliting", about 10th century in S. E. Here and elsewhere, the Fiend is always BOUND.

Scandinavian fore-elders. I use E. Guest's *text* of this passage in *Cædmon* (English Rhythms, Vol. 2, 8vo. London 1838, p. 38):

Ac licgað me ymbe
 íren-benda
 rídeð racentan sal
 ic eom rices leas
 habbað me swa hearde
 helle clommas
 fæste befangen.
 hér is fýr micel
 ufan and neoðone
 ic á ne geseah
 laðran landscipe
 lig ne aswamað
 hát ofer helle.
 me habbað hringa gespong
 slið-hearda sál
 siðes amyrrred
 afyrred me mín feðe
 fét synt gebundene
 hánda gehæfte
 synt þissa hél-dora
 wegas forwórhte
 swa ic mid wihte ne mæg
 of þissum lióðo-bendum.
 licgað me ymbutan
 heárdes irenes
 háte geslægene
 grindlas greate
 mid þy me god
 hafað gehæfted be þam healse.

*But bands of iron
 over me circle,
 fetter's link holdeth
 a fugitive kingdomless,
 Hell-gyves hasp me
 hard in their grip
 in fastest prison.
 Fire here playeth
 above and under,
 not ever saw I
 landscape more loathly;
 low ne'er dieth,
 hot over Hell.
 Heavy ring-clasps,
 a merciless manacle,
 mock my weakness,
 foil the struggles
 OF FEET SORE BOUNDEN,
 HANDS TIED HELPLESS.
 Hell-doors those yonder
 for others an outgang,
 idly hang I
 limb-shackled here.
 Lie around me,
 of hardest iron
 heat-forged deftly,
 grindles greatest —
 God's dread lock-fence —
 CLOSE NIPPING MY NECK.*

The coincidence may be accidental; but still I would remark, as to SLIÐ-HEARDA SÁL = *the fiercely-hard chain*, that in the Northern god-tales one of the fearful rivers near Hell — and whose waters were laden with "slime and swords"

Yet, strange enough, in his character as a Tempter, the Devil is FREE all the same. Here we have the continual collision between the Northern heathen Fiend (Lóké) who was BOUND, and the Eastern Christian Satan (Lucifer) who was FREE¹). It gave rise to endless contradictions and absurdities in the same land, the same author, the same page all Europe over. In England so strong was the native tradition, that writers even introduced the BOUND Demon instead of the FREE, when translating or paraphrasing from a foreign tongue. We have curious instances of this in the charming O. E. Lay of St. Andrew, a loose version of the Greek prose story written in the 6th age by Lucius Charinus, a Manichæan heretic, to strengthen the sect of his Gnostic friends; but in its present shape the romance is much later. The Wikings must have been very sharp fellows to have been acquainted with it, for it was little known in the oldest Church, Ms. copies of it are excessively scarce, no Latin version has ever been heard of, and it is quite different from the usual Legend of St. Andrew which was early done into Icelandic. This Manichæan Andrew-fable was first discovered by Thilo in 1845, and was not printed till 1851 by Tischendorf. The late — 10th — century English poetical copy the Wikings scarcely studied; if they did, they must *at once* have used it for their Loke myth, and it must have taken only *a few hours* to grow up and root itself down in Scandinavia, *instantly* becoming there a mighty Tree covered with the moss of ages.

In the above-mentioned older English version, the stave-rime paraphrase of this Greek holy-tale, the Devil is spoken

— was called SLÍP. The epithet SLÍD-HEARD is excessively rare and very obscure in Old-English.

¹) As to the same difficulty with regard to the Classical *Bound* Prometheus who yet was *free*, and the Northern *free* Loke who yet was *Bound*, see N. F. S. Grundtvig, *Nordens Mythologi*, 2nd ed. p. 525 foll.

of as BOUND in two places. The first is at line 2385 of Kemble's edition. Here, in a speech of 20 lines, amplified from only 1 line in the Greek prose (p. 157 in Tischendorf), St. Andrew rebukes the Devil, in this poem as elsewhere called Devil, Belial, Satan, &c. *ad libitum*. In his long answer he also says to the fiend, in Kemble's English version):

»þær se cyninga cyning
clamme belegde.

where the King of kings
with chains did load thee.*

The Greek text has only: *But the Lord Jesus Christ SHALL cast thee down into the abyss.* — This violent change of the Greek future SHALL into the English past, DID, together with the addition of the CHAINS, is most instructive. — In the largely abridged O. E. later prose version (Goodwin's edition, p. 16) the Saint exclaims merely. «*My Lord Jesus Christ hath trodden thee down under foot*», that is, *hath overcome thee*.

The second instance is lines 2754—9 of Kemble, p. 160 in Tischendorf. Here 3 Greek lines of prose are expanded into 20 of English verse. In this reply of the Hallow to the fiend one passage is, as translated by Kemble:

»se þe in niedum iú
gefæstnode
fýrnum clommum,
þær þú siððan á
susle gebunden
in wræc wunne.

who thee in wretchedness of yore
fastened
with fiery fetters,
where thou ever since
bound down in torment.
hast dwelt in misery.*

In the few words of the Greek text, and of the O. E. later prose version, (Goodwin p. 18), there is no mention at all either of Hell or of Binding.

As we have said, this curious blending of the *free* and the *unfree* fiend could not be got rid of. Sometimes the writers tried to escape the difficulty by giving the Evil-one another name, for he had many synonyms. Or they let him

find some substitute, a son, or kinsman¹). Cædmon gives the BOUND Satan a FREE minister and messenger in the person

¹) For instance. Tho Cynewulf probably wrote in the 8th century, his poems are found only in a Ms. of the 10th. In his *St. Juliana the Devil* who tempts her, and who acknowledges he had also fondled Adam and Eve in Paradise, says that »the king of the Hell-folk« (*helwarana cyning*), »the foe of mankind« (*feond mon-cynnes*), was — HIS OWN FATHER. Yet in *the same* Scald's *Helena*, or *the Finding of the Cross*, the Evil One is absolutely FREE without his being called a substitute. — In the *O. Engl. Cott. Ms. Tib. A, 3, fol. 85 foll.*, written about A. D. 1000—50. is a legend printed by Kemble (*Sal. and Sat. p. 84 foll.*) It tells of a holy Hermit, who made the Devil (the prince of the fallen angels, who had come to tempt him) his *prisoner*. Nor would he let him go, till he had described the horrors of Hell and the joys of Paradise. Here we again have the FREE Christian fiend. — Equally so in that costly Early English Song (date ab. 1250, publ. by E. E. Text Soc.), »The Story of Genesis and Exodus«, we are distinctly told that LIGBER (*Flame-bearer, Lucifer*) revolts from God, becomes his own Lord, is changed to a Drake (*Dragon*), goes up to Paradise, enters a Worm, and seduces our First Parents. He is all along FREE, and is *no one's agent*. — In the *Early Engl. versified Juliana* (ab. A. D. 1230), as published by O. Cockayne in 1872 for the E. E. T. Soc., at p. 38 foll., Ms. A makes BELIAL say that he had tempted Eve and others at the bidding of BEELSEBUB (Ms. C says SATAN), »Þe alde þurs of helle« (the old giant of Hell). — In the E. Engl. poetical legend *St. Margaret* (ab 1230), that maiden first slays a Hell-dragon (RUFFIN) sent to swallow her, and then triumphs over that fiend's brother, also þurs of Hell, who called himself the servant of BELLZEBUB (another Ms. BELSEBUG),

»he is keiser ant king
i-crunet of us alle.«

So much for these continual variations and amplifications. So late as the middle of the 15th century we have the FREE Lucifer, the Prince of Heaven and King of Hell, going from the abyss to Paradise and ruining the Protoplasts. (See the Saxon Drama »Der Sündenfall, herausgegeben von Dr. O. Schönemann,« 8vo. Hannover 1855, p. 31).

of a mighty Chief, whom he had favored and enricht when in Heaven, and who now out of gratitude does his bidding. But of course all this only masks and disguises the evident fact, the *survival* from an older myth of a being who came in contact with a parallel in another creed.

Even down to the illustrious and learned Milton, we find the same thing. In his *Paradise Lost*, Book I, l. 44—48, he says of Satan:

„Him the Almighty Power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from the ethereal sky
With hideous ruin and combustion, down
To bottomless perdition; there to dwell
In adamantine chains and penal fire.“

Yet, having no choice, the same noble poet, only a few lines further on (l. 209—213) thus describes the same Satan:

„So stretch'd out huge in length the Arch-fiend lay,
Chain'd on the burning lake: nor ever thence
Had risen, or heav'd his head; but that the will
And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
Left him at large to his own dark designs.“

And so he *freely* flies to Paradise accordingly, to tempt Adam and Eve!

I have spoken of the first heathen *LOKE* figure, *BOUND* to a rock, as lately found in the North of England. Let us now go in its illustration from stone to parchment.

Drawings in the olden Mss. are so precious, because they give the draughtsman's pictures of things as he saw and thought them in his own time, tho the subject he paints may be centuries older.

In the 10th century S. E. Cædmon codex, there are 50 large drawings illustrating the text. In 5 of these the artist introduces the being called by the poet *SATAN* and *LUCIFER*. He lies *BOUND* in Hell; his deputy, an apostate prince,

being his errander to Paradise on his fatal mission. Let us go thro these 5 plates¹):

A (No. 4), Satan, *on his back*, BOUND, his hands to each other, his neck and feet to the 2 largest teeth of Hell-mouth, the Hell-goddess or Leviathan, in whose jaws (Helle-ceaff) he is firmly fixt. (Above; Christ, wielding 3 Javelins in his right hand, is driving all the Devils into Hell. — Still higher up, apostate spirits offer Crowns and Palms to the pride-drunk Archangel.).

B (No. 11), Satan is seen *on the side* of Hell-mouth, within the ramparts of Hell's house. He lies *on his belly*, and has a TAIL²). His hands and feet are BOUND. (Above; the Lord Christ with faithful Angels.)

C (No. 12). Satan, half-sitting, half-lying is BOUND, neck, hand and foot, to 2 stakes in Hell-house. Flames below him. (Above, is the Deity supported by Seraphims.).

¹) Copied (nearly the same size) by J. F. Rosenstand, in Phot-oxylographic facsimiles, from the original copper-plates engraved by the excellent English artist James Basire. See *Archæologia*, London, 4to, Vol. 24, 1832. «Account of Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Scripture History, by Sir Henry Ellis, with 52 facsimile plates of the Illuminations.»

²) Intercourse between England and Ireland, from the earliest times, was very great. As a proof how things *grow*, we may remember that, in the *late* (about A. D. 1149) and exceedingly popular «Vision of Tundale» the Irishman, LUCIFER in the abyss is an enormous black giant with more than 1000 hands, claws of iron and a horrid beak and TAIL. He lies BOUND over a gridiron, and fiends blow the fires under him. — When Hermod went to the underworld to fetch back to Walhall his dead brother Baldor, he of course had to pass GIALLAR-BRO, the bridge over the Hell-river Giall, which leads to the house of Queen Hell. This Bridge is a feature of immense antiquity in many lands, especially in primitive Oriental traditions. It lived on long in England and Scotland as «the Brig o' Dread», and often plays a part in the Christian Hell and Purgatory tales so common in the middle ages. But these Purgatory tales themselves are as old as the hills, and are often referred-to in Classical writers.

D (No. 13), Satan, suspended *on his belly*, is BOUND to a stake in Hell-town. He has 2 WINGS. His winged messenger receives his instructions, and is also seen flying thro Hell-door to Paradise. (Above, the Serpent talks with Eve, &c.)

E (No. 18), Satan *on his back*, BOUND hand and foot in Hell-house. His bode is seen on his return, first flying down thro Hell-door, then speeding thro Hell-town, and then standing by his Lord the Bound Devil, recounting his triumph over our First Parents. (Above; Adam and Eve after the Fall.)

Now all these 5 paintings, which are so surprisingly different in detail, are by one and the same limner, who in the 10th year-hundred illustrates a Song of the 7th. In only one thing does he hold fast the exact words of Cædmon. Satan is every where painted BOUND.

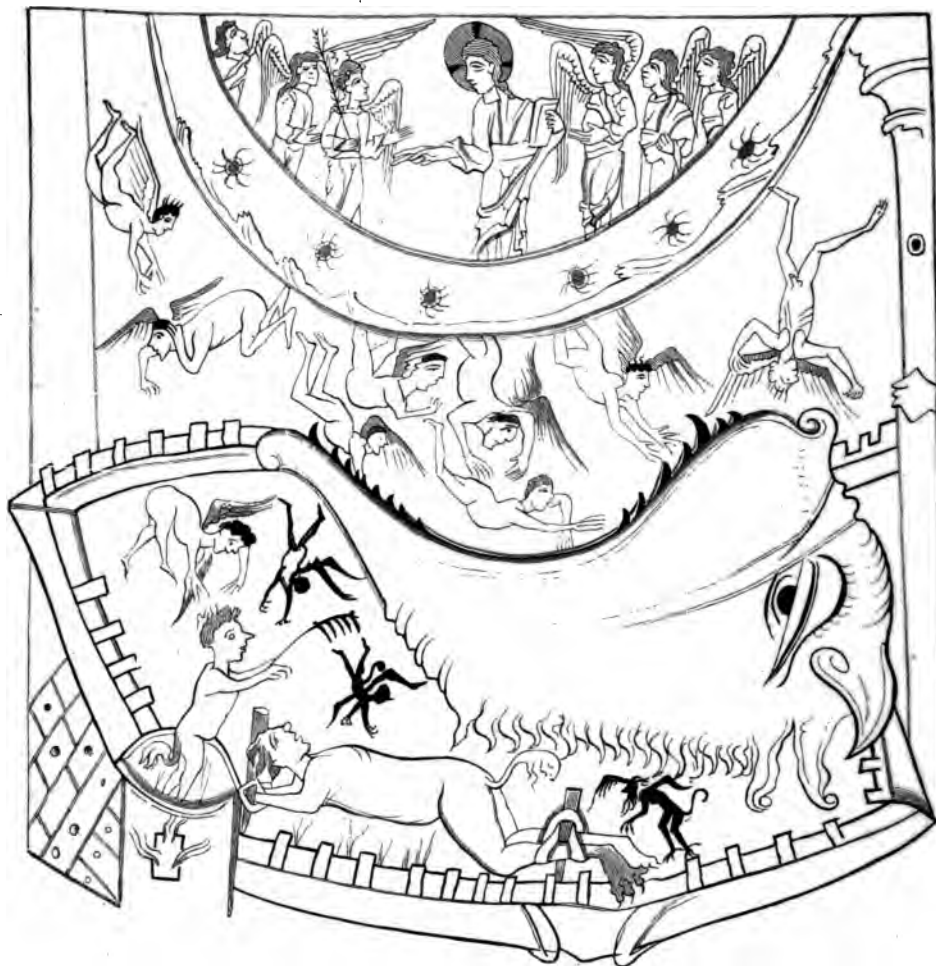
We remark in passing that *the fortified Hell-house* as well as *the Death-goddess Hell* herself, in these pictures, were confessedly *unknown in any Christian period*, and *must* have come in bodily *from Scandinavia*.

The oldest mention of the Bound Devil goes back to an apocryphal book in the 6th century, written in Greek, then in Latin, long obscure, circulating first among heretics and condemned by the Church. Yet, far off from Greece and Italy, amid a barbarian population as yet largely heathen and come in from heathen Scandinavia — wild clans knowing little Latin less Greek and no Hebrew — we have in the 7th century, firmly fixt and interwoven in the orthodox doctrine in England, a BOUND fiend. In the same land is a BOUND Satan of stone, part of a Christian Cross. That this figure has Horns need not surprise us. Manifold is popular fancy; this variation may not have been unknown here and there in Scandinavia itself, at least in Denmark.

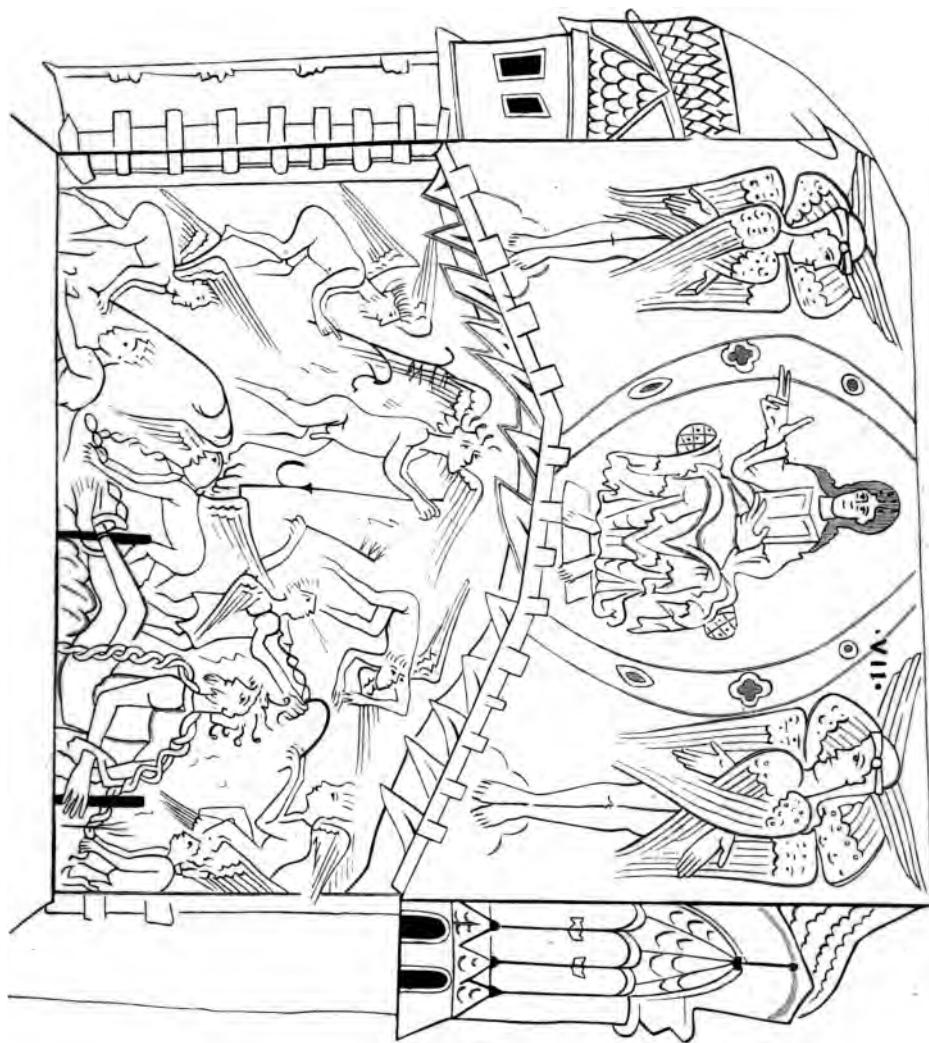
But a BOUND Devil in Song, and a BOUND Devil in Stone, both earlier than the year 700, must inevitably — like the Baldor-myth on the Ruthwell Cross — have sprung from



A. — CÆDMON CODEX, TENTH CENTURY.



B. — CÆDMON CODEX, TENTH CENTURY.



C. — CÆDMON CODEX, TENTH CENTURY.



D. — CÆDMON CODEX, TENTH CENTURY.



E. — CÆDMON CODEX, TENTH CENTURY.

times and beliefs some centuries still older in the Scando-Anglic folklands, and therefore could not possibly have been first invented by Wikings in the 9th or 10th year-hundred after Christ.

Now in this examination of pagan and Christian art in early days, as to Woden and Walhall, Woden and Regin and Sigurd, Loké free and Loké Bound reflected by his *double*, Lucifer, this Earth the fiend-home but also Nástrand and Hell their house, and such, — we see both in Scandinavia and elsewhere endless differences of detail. These folk-tales and temple-tales go back to remote ages, are always inter-mixing and diminishing and expanding, are localized and generalized and multiplied. What was at first a mere synonym springs into independent life, as a fresh God or God-tale. New centers are formed, endless polypi-creations float off, each poet alters or adds as he sings, no two Tale-tellers or Song-singers repeat the same oral Tale or Ballad twice over in *exactly* the same way, and such small things as sex and number are often not even thought of. It is the great instincts and passions of Gods and Men which are placed before us in mighty outlines. Under such circumstances the last thing we ought to do is to dwell upon trifles, and use muddy middle-age modern imitations. The new mechanical school says: in A we find 2 Birds singing to Sigurd, in B we find 3, but in C there are 4 or more. Therefore A-land is one type, of an A nationality; B-land is a second tradition, and belongs to the B race. C-land, however, is quite another matter; it is highly wonderful. So we whisper mysteriously and write a book about it. All this kind of reasoning is rubbish.

Like tales, Living tales, Lost tales.

I would here willingly enter on the question, so near (and often so contrary) to Prof. Bugge's argument, the actual value of *Parallel* myths, *Continuous* myths and nearly

or quite *Perisht* myths. But I must confine myself to a few cursory remarks.

Like tales, *Parallel* myths, stream out from many centers often equally old. They cannot therefore be *loans* from *younger* sources offering more or less resembling details. *Some* of these *Parallels* in olden mythologies go back many thousands of years to prehistoric ages, *may* be a common Aryan inheritance. Some become fixt as the national temple-creeds of allied races, and this from whatever antique symbols they may have sprung. Some have been develop't in different lands separately and independently, from a common instinctive appreciation by man of outer phenomena and inner feelings, the heritage of all men. Some have been carried far and wide by Priests or Sages or Colonists in former days, tho often they have been added to or absorbed by other beliefs.

Living tales, *On-living* myths, those which *survive* from older systems into newer, have been I think comparatively overlookt by Prof. Bugge. Most of his arguments, in my opinion, fall away on this ground alone. His supposed *loans* from pagan and Christian sources in *late* times are I believe, when realities, mere *survivors* transferred from heathendom to Christendom, not the reverse. I must be very short. But I will add a couple of fresh examples of this.

The remarkable Salomon and Saturn, a South-English tract of the 10th century, is full of pagan material. I will here only give *one* passage, at p. 148 of Kemble's edition. Here PATER NOSTER takes the place of THUNOR, who yet is mentioned by his own name in the same sentence, and acts as a Christian S. MICHAEL or other Champion:

<p>»Se Pater Noster sceótað ðæt deófol mid weallendum strælum: and seó liget hit bærneð and tácnað, and se regn hit [on] ufan wyrðeð, and ða genipu hit dwe-</p>	<p>PATER NOSTER shall shoot the Devil with redhot-hissing shafts, and Lightning shall burn and brand him, and Rain from above shall whelm him; and cloud-mists</p>
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liað, and se ðunor hit ðrysceð *blind-lead him, and THUNOR shall mid ðære fyrenan æcxe, and hit smite him with his FIERY AXE, and drifeð to ðære irenan racenteage drive him to the iron fetter-chain ðe his fæder on eardað, Satan wherein his Father dwelleth, Sa- and Sathiel.* *tan and Sathiel.*

Mr. Kemble himself was quite aware of this characteristic in the English remains, and strongly defends the great antiquity of the Northern myths¹⁾.

¹⁾ At p. 146 of Kemble's Salomon and Saturn is the passage:

On XXIII siðe bið ðæt deófol on wulfes onlicnisse: on XXIIII siðe bið se Pater Noster on gyldenre racenteage onlicnisse.	On the 23rd time beeth the Devil in the likeness of a Wolf: on the 24rd time beeth the Pa- ter Noster in the likeness of a Golden Chain.
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Mr. Kemble's note hereon (p. 177) is as follows: "The twenty-third change transforms the devil into a wolf, to counteract which the Paternoster becomes a golden chain: in this there is probably some lurking remembrance of the wolf Fenris: and the chain which he will only break in the Ragna-rayk, or Twilight of the Gods."

Further on in the same page Mr. Kemble remarks: "This Christian fighting of the devil and the Paternoster is what we may call a companion-piece to the Ragna-Rayk."

So at Kemble's p. 200—2 (Dialogue of Adrian and Rithheus), we are told that Enoc and Helias dwell "on sunfelda and on sceanfelda," in *SUN-FIELD* and in *SHINE-FIELD*, exactly in the style of Northern Gods. — In the same way the identity of ANTICHRIST and of SERT strikes us in Ælfric's Homilies, II, p. 452:

Eall swa deð Antechrist ðonne hé cymð; he asent fyr ufan, swilce of heofenum, to bepæcenne þæt earme man- cynn ðe hé on bið. Ac wite gehwá, þæt se ne mæg nán fyr of heofenum asendan, se ðe on heofenum sylf cuman ne mót.	Even so will Antichrist do, when he comes; HE WILL SEND FIRE FROM ABOVE, as tho from heaven, to deceive the miserable men among whom he is. But let every one know, that he may send NO FIRE FROM HEAVEN who himself may not enter heaven.
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In speaking of this very Salomon and Saturn, and contrasting the fiery Hell of the burning East with the icy Hell of the freezing North, he adds, (p. 394, Vol. 1, of his Saxons in England): "The poisonous snakes which waking or sleeping seem ever to have haunted the Anglosaxon, formed a convenient point of junction between his own traditional hell and that which he heard of from the pulpit, in quotations from the works of the Fathers; and to these and their influence alone can it be attributed when we find flames and sulphur, and all the hideous apparatus of Judaic tradition, adopted by him. In this fact seems to me to lie a very important mark of ancient heathendom, and one which the clergy themselves admitted, a belief in which they shared, and which they did not scruple to impress upon their flocks even in spite of the contrary tendency of their authorities: it will be sufficient to refer to the description given of hell in the poetic Salomon and Saturn, a composition redolent of heathendom: on the defeat of the rebel angels, it is said, God

him helle gescóp,
wælcealde wíc,
wintre bedehte:
wæter insende
and wyrmgearðas,
atol deór monig
írenum hornum;
blóðige earnas
and bláce nædran;
þirst and hungor
and pearle gewin,
eácne egesan,
unrótnisse.

*for them he made hell,
a dwelling deadly cold,
with winter covered:
water he sent in
and snake-dwellings,
many a foul beast
with horns of iron;
bloody eagles
and pale adders;
thirst and hunger
and fierce conflict,
mighty terror,
joylessness¹).•*

There was a Classical tale of a youth who on his wedding-day placed his marriage-ring on the finger of a

¹) Kemble, Sal. & Sat. p. 173.

marble Venus. On his return the image had closed her hand on the Ring, and the stripling was in despair, till a heathen priest helpt him. This story survived in a hundred shapes in the Christian middle-age, only a statue of the Virgin Mary took the place of that of Venus. But the Christian Church appropriated in this way even whole Romances, and even from the far East, particularly in the great schools of Alexandria. One of the most extraordinary examples of this is the antique legendary life of Buddha, whose preliminary title was Bodisat. This Bodisat, corrupted into Joasaph or Josaphat, revived in the famous Saint-book called Barlaam and Josaphat, written in Greek about the year 750 by St. John of Damascus, and which afterwards went all over Europe in translations.

We all remember the costly humorous folk-tale about one of THOR's two Goats, which he slaughtered for the supper of himself and the family where he was a guest. But when the God hallowed them in the morning and the Goats stood up, one of them halted, for the disobedient Thialfi, the farmer's son, had broken the thigh-bone to get at the marrow. — Now every where the missionaries rightly taught that Christ and his Saints were at least as mighty as Woden and his Gods, in *real* need in fact stronger still. This reasoning we frequently meet in antique Christian legends, whose writers often appropriated to their hero the wonders told by the heathen. — And so this very same story about a Goat which drew his cart and was killed for his evening meal, but rose up lame in the morning, in the same way is told of an old¹⁾ Keltic saint. Unhappily, I

¹⁾ A variant has turned up, told of S. Abban, Abbot of Magharnoidhe; flourisht in 6th century. But of this legend the Rev. S. Baring-Gould says (Lives of the Saints, Vol. for October, London 1877, p. 653): "Authority, A worthless Life, late, and full of fable." In this story the Hallow

have not made a note where I found this. Of course it had been annexed from the song of some Scandinavian pagan.

Another example which all will admit. ST. GEORGE, the Patron Saint of England, who slays the Dragon — a tale which has its parallels all the world over as far back as we can go — owed a large share of its popularity as a Western Christian legend to its having partly belonged to a Northern folk-tale¹).

permits a hungry wolf to devour a Calf, but afterwards prays over the bones and restores it to life. — See the story about a similarly slaughtered and revived Goat, told in Nonsberg, Tyrol. in W. Mannhardt's *Wald- und Feldkulte*, Vol. 1, p. 116. He adds references to other such in various lands and times, some *parallels*, some *copies*, but *not* the particular one which I ought to have transcribed. — Sometimes we can put our finger direct on the overgang. Thus at the beginning of the 10th century or earlier, a Christian Northman who wished to settle in Iceland, promising to build a Church there to St. Columba, sought counsel of *his Bishop* (whose name was Patrick) instead of *Thor*. Directed by his spiritual father he takes with him some *Church-wood* instead of some *Temple-wood*, and the Iron Bell given him by the Bishop floats and shows him where to build, instead of the high-seat Thor-posts in the pagan hall usually used for that purpose. As in duty bound, he calls the channel up which he sailed *Patrick's-firth*, not *Thor's-firth*. — *Landnámabók*, 1, 12; *Ol. Saga Tryggv.* ch. 119. — In the 10th century Latin legend of Saint Egidius or Giles (*Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. 1), who died about 718, we are told that the Saint cast *two gates* into the Tiber, willing them to find his Abbey in France. Away they went, and floated safely to their destination. *They bore the images of St. Peter and St. Paul*, not of Thor and Frey.

- ¹) The great spread of the St. George and the Dragon story in *Britain* is doubtless connected with his being looked upon by the common people as a Christianized Sigurd (or Sigmund) and the Dragon. St. George was widely honored in England from very early times, long before he was acknowledged as its Patron Saint at the synod of Oxford in 1220, whereby he supplanted in that capacity St. Edward the Con-

As to *Lost* tales, *Perisht* myths. One of the grandest I know is that about WODEN'S adventure with his Steed, which slides and wrenches its joint, till successive galdor-songs or Charms restore it. Of this we have very old, heathen and half-Christianized, variants, in many Scando-Gothic lands, tho in a short and fragmentary form as Spells. We have many other such Spells or Charms in Old-English against Wound-sores and Sickness, either quite or half pagan. — This WODEN'S SLEIPNER MYTH may be best studied in the old legend added-on to the life of that great and good Christian Bishop in France ST. ELIGIUS or ELOY, who in his historical shape as a wonderful artist in metal-work is the Patron Saint of Goldsmiths, while in his legendary character as the wonderful Horse-shoer he is the Patron Saint of Smiths and Farriers and even of the Horse itself,

fessor. His combat with the Dragon is often handled on the tympanums of Early English (Norman) Churches. On one of these, from Brinsop Church, Herefordshire, *two Birds* are placed near his head. See the engraving in *The Calendar of the Anglican Church Illustrated*. London 1851. 8^{vo}. p. 67. — As to practical survivals of pure heathendom *down to our own day*, take only one record from Great Britain itself. At p. 147 and foll. of his valuable "The Past in the Present", (8^{vo}, Edinburgh 1880), Dr. Arthur Mitchell discusses the *Yirding of a Quik Cok* (burying alive of a living Cock), Fire-worship, the Sacrifice of a Bull as a regular yearly custom and other such things, as practised in various parts of Scotland and elsewhere. — There is no doubt in my own mind that the Forbidden Tree, as seen by Seth in Paradise, has become in England, by the survival of heathen Scandinavian legends, the YGG-DRASIL the sacred Ash or World-tree, of our Northern forefathers. See the description, in connection with tales about the Finding of the Cross, in the 2 texts of an English poem, "þe Holy Rode", (13th cent.) in Dr. R. Morris's "Legends of the Holy Rood", pp. 18 and foll., and in the 4 texts of the "Cursor Mundi" (oldest N: E. Ms. 14th cent.), Part 1, London 1874, pp. 84, 85, edited by Dr. Morris for the Early English Text Society.

as was Saint Stephen in Sweden and elsewhere, both of them having so far taken the place of the Northern Gods Woden and Frey. St. Eligius died shortly after the middle of the 7th century. I have given details about him in my *Old-Northern Runic Monuments*, Vol. I, p. 382¹). At this moment the Horse-myth transferred to him is a popular folk-tale in Scandinavia and France and elsewhere²), tho

¹) A facsimile of the signature of this great Minister and Moneyer of Dagobert I may be seen in Mabillon (*De Re Diplomatica*), and in P. Lacroix (*Mœurs, Usages et Cost. au Moyen Age*, Paris 1871, 8^{vo}. p. 330). Copies of the Money struck by him (*ELEGIVS MONE*), and other formulas, are in the same work, p. 331, 338.

²) April 1882. — The old Church at Stubbekjøbing in Falster contains fresco-paintings of various dates, from the end of the 13th century to the Reformation. One of these, from about 1425, is exceptionally interesting. On the left a boy is blowing a pair of Bellows, which end in the fire of an archt smithy-furnace. Here stands a Bishop, with one hand shoeing the leg of a Horse, cut off from the animal, while with the other he suddenly with his large pinchers seizes by her long nose a she-devil who has come to tempt him. A lad sits nearby, playing on a horn. — To the right is a stall, with a lifting-bar and rope in the roof to lift up the Horse below when necessary. for the farrier's help. His leg is now put on again all right, properly shod, the same Bishop standing close to the stall. — This is the *second* time any work of art in Scandinavia has been found connected with S. Eligius as the Horse-wonder-worker and Patron Saint of Farriers, and in this capacity the first fresco commemorating him. We have to thank Prof. J. Kornerup for a drawing of this fresco, which will be publisht. The episode of the Pinchers and the Devil's nose is evidently copied from the tale about St. Dunstan of England, so amusingly described in the rimes of Robert of Gloucester about 1270. It is printed by Mr. Furnivall, from a Ms. of about 1305, in *«Early English Poems and Lives of Saints»* (*Transactions of the Philological Soc.* 1858, Pt. 2, Berlin, 8vo.), p. 34, foll. — The *first* Scandian instance is on a richly carved stone Font (12th century) in Vænge, Gotland, Sweden. In one of its upper

the name of any god is forgotten in it. Sometimes, as might be expected, CHRIST is the hero, not St. Eloy.

Another forgotten Northern myth is cut on the Runic Northumbrian Franks Casket, of the 8th century, engraved

compartments we see THE SMITH, Hammer in hand, a Horse-shoe above his head. Before him stands a man, holding — as far as we can see in the very small drawing — either a long farrier-knife, or else the cut-off horse's leg. See the engraving of this Dip-stone in Horace Marryat's «One Year in Sweden», Vol. 2, London 1862, p. 273.

In his capacity as Patron of the Smiths, St. ELIGIUS (Eloi, Loy) is carved, a statue of the 15th century, in the church Notre-Dame d'Armançon, Semur, Burgundy. He bears his smith's apron and in his left hand the cut-off leg of the Horse, on which he is going to replace the shoe. On the base are horse-shoes and smiths-tools. (P. Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, 8vo. Paris 1869, p. 357). — In England Durraston Church, Dorsetshire, is named in his honor, «and his legend is sculptured over the doorway.» So says Mr. Parker. in his «Calendar of the Anglican Church Illustrated», 8vo., p. 230, Oxford 1851, but unhappily without further details or any engraving. — See also *P. Boiteau, Légendes pour les Enfants*, 12mo. Paris 1857, p. 7, «Le Roi Dagobert.»

Not only has Christ taken the place of Woden in popular legends as the wonderful Horse-smith, but, by a natural extension of his Almighty as the Christian God, he makes 2 decrepit *old women young again*, instead of joining the cut-off leg to the steed's body. This tale is charmingly told in a poem called «The Smyth and his Dame,» printed in London by Wyllyam Copland some time between 1515 and 1561. We are here amused by the proud Smith's punishment. Christ does what the puffed-up artist could *not* do, makes his wife's old mother young again! When the Smith disobeys the Lord's command, and will smithy his own mother young (whom he of course burns and beats to death), Christ pities him and makes her flourishing and blooming. See the legend, reprinted from the *unique* copy among Selden's books at Oxford, in Halliwell's Contributions to English Literature, 1849, and in W. C. Hazlitt's Early Popular Poetry of England, Vol. 3, London 1866, p. 200—220.

in my Old N. R. M. Vol. 1. The scene there given to *ÆGIL* has never yet been found in the North, and therefore cannot be explained¹).

Yet one *Lost* myth, and I have done. I believe it has never been pointed out before. It occurs among the Old-English Glosses from the 8th century downwards, collected and published by the late Thomas Wright in his *«Vocabularies.»* This one is from a codex of the 10th year-hundred, and is in his Vol. 2, p. 125. The Gloss in question is: *«WYLFEN, Bellona, i. furia, dea belli, mater martis.»* Thus in England the mother of *TEW*, the Scandian *TY* or *TYR*, was called *WYLFEN* and was looked on as a *SHE-WOLF*, and she was a war-goddess or Fury, this Latin word used in the sense of *WALKYRIE*. The oldest spelling of these Mays of Woden in England is *WALCYRGE*; it is found in Mss. as old as the 8th century, and must therefore come down from times long

¹) April 1882 — This mystery is now solved. In 1879 appeared Major-General Alex. Cunningham's magnificently illustrated 4to *«The Stūpa of Bharhut»* in India, in which he gives the results of his diggings in the ruins of that Buddhist Temple, the oldest yet found in India (3rd century before Christ). The granite bas-reliefs bear legends connected with the Jātakas or successive births (incarnations) of Buddha. Plate 27, No. 13, shows Bodhisat in his birth as prince Asadrisa, the wonderful Bowman. The whole story is given by the learned writer at p. 70, taken from Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 114. We here see that in this, even then *modern*, oriental variant the Indian *Ægil* is engaged in feud and fight, exactly as on the North-English Casket. Curiously enough, the last 3-fold exploit of the Indian prince lives on, almost unchanged, in the last exploit of the Scandinavian wonder-shot An the Bowbender. (*Ans Saga Bogsveigis*, K. 7 in *Rafns Forn. Sög. Nordl.* 2, p. 357). — I do not here discuss the question, whether this great Archer, (localized among the Scando-Goths as *ÆGIL*, *PALNATÓKE*, *WILLIAM TELL*, *ROBIN HOOD*, *WILLIAM OF CLOUDESLEY*, *AN*, or what not), was originally an Oriental incarnation of the *SUN-GOD*, in his capacity as *THE RAY-DARTER*.

before. But it is also used in England as late as the 14th year-hundred in the plural form WALKYRIES, it having then sunk to mean spae-women or fate-readers or witches. This word WALKYRIE has, as far as I know, never yet been found as an old word in Norway or Sweden or Denmark, only in Iceland. But, as we see, it was common in England in the 8th century, and our skinbooks in English do not go beyond that date. But this was 100 years before the discovery of Iceland. Thus, as in Scandinavia, so in England, we have heathen myths whose key has been lost.

I dare not proceed. Many distinguisht authors have treated of Parallel and Living and Lost myths at large, and I myself have collected some fresh material in the Index to my edition of the Old-Swedish Legendarium.

Last Words.

The task I had set myself, *chiefly in self-defence*, is completed. I will add a word or two and conclude, remarking, that I have not yet opened, much less redd, Dr. Viktor Rydberg's answer in «Nordisk Tidskrift» to the other wing of this battle, the views of the learned Dr. Bang, of Christiania, on the Sibylline Books as a great source of the Northern myths. Should Dr. Rydberg's arguments, therefore, ever coincide with my own, they are independent the one of the other.

No reasonable man has ever said that the Northern Mythology, *any more than any other*, was free from loans and intermixtures and developments. But the objection to Prof. Bugge's theory is, that it takes no account of *Parallels* and *Survivals*, and that his date for such large borrowings is simply and desperately *impossible*, as being so *modern*. His many interesting details show wide reading, but most

of them are not new to students in this particular field¹⁾), and he seems to me to have used these bits of inlay, these little mosaic cubes, with misplaced ingenuity, so as to have produced combinations contrary to nature.

In spite, therefore, of the renowned author's great gifts, his linguistic talent, and his wonderful skill in construction, — his essay on the whole is I think a failure. I still hold the great outlines of our Northern God-lore to be as relatively old and independent as that of any other ancient race.

My method of reasoning on this first Part would be the same for all the rest, and my time is fully occupied with other labors. Consequently, I shall *not* notice the following Parts of Prof. Bugge's work.

And what is the end, the upshot, the final result, of this whole debate as far as we have now followed it, and supposing the arguments here advanced to be on the whole sound and solid? It is, that our Northern forefathers not only had Deities, but a distinctive God-lore, a developed national Mythology, many many hundreds of years before the 9th and

¹⁾ Prof. Bugge's whole system may be found — not learnedly and elegantly as in his pages, but rudely shortly and categorically — in Torkel Baden's little pamphlet «Den nordiske Mythologies Kilder», 8vo., Kjøbenhavn 1821, pp. 1—28. It opens (p. 1) with the announcement, that the Northern myths «ikke ere andet end christelige, romerske og græske Værker med et nordisk Anstrøg» (*are nothing but Christian, Roman and Greek productions with a Northern coloring*). But Prof. Baden, as far as I know, has nowhere in his writings told us *who* it was that made and localized and nationalized these «productions», nor in what particular *land* or *period* this wonderful event took place. He has not one word about «wikings» and «the 9th and 10th century.»

10th centuries. And this ancient Mythology in various ways showed points of contact with other creeds. Especially we see that this old *Religion of the Past* had some cardinal doctrines and figures, in harmony with the steadily advancing *Religion of the Future*, — a circumstance which of course made the transition from Heathendom to Christendom much easier than it else would have been. The White Baldor dimly draws back, as the White Christ advances. In general this Northern system led up to a manly, loyal, active and useful life. It taught that Law must build the land, that principle is higher than passion. It lookt on this life as a school for the next, life itself being considered as nothing, compared with each kemp's battle-task *to work together with the Father of the Gods* in fighting against every thing false and foul, all trolls and Giants and Earth-snakes; so that we may take our seat victorious in his shining Walhall, eventually aiding him in *the regeneration of Creation*. And this everlasting consolation, this LIFE AFTER DEATH, not only was the staff and stay of our elders in the Stone and the Bronze Age, as we see by their grave-gear and their Holy Symbols, but yet more in the Early Iron Age. It is in this last period *far older* than our most venerable skinbooks. The moment Runes come in, it meets us on grave-stones carved with the *oldest* staves; it continues on sepulchral heathen blocks bearing the *later* runes; and it flows onward on funeral runic slabs — often with the very same older formulas only slightly altered — in the early *Christian* era. And this Scandinavian faith also said, that, as after this life comes another, so after death comes the Doom, when each man shall reap according as he hath sown, the good rewarded with good things, the evil punisht with evil things — *good* being at last brought out of *all evil*. Thus in new heavens and a new earth should those longings be fulfilled, which here well-up in every human

breast. Hence this Northern temple-lore echoed the truth, as old as Paradise, — that All-father shall be all in all!

And ought we not to thank God that our Northern fore-elders of the Iron Age, more than 1000 years before the 9th century, had a faith so high as this? We, their children, born to a brighter dispensation, are not the folk to cast away the Pearl of great price, and buy bewitched Sticks Stones and Straw, the dangling gewgaws of LÓKÉ. Not yet have we sunk to that go-ahead *Summum Bonum* and *only Divinity* — the almighty Dollar. Not yet does our population chorus the Gospel of «the Advanced» — «Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die.» Not yet does the Polar Star of Duty mean to us merely, heartless and headless, to drift helplessly along on time's bosom. As yet we have some other Hope than hopelessness, some other Rest and Home for «the weary and heavy laden» than — body and soul together — to be meat for worms and chemical processes, in the endless triumph of what is called «the strongest» — a mere mechanical euphemism for the ridiculous weakness of a fleeting momentary combination. — And, with Gods' help, we have still another and dearer and nearer Fatherland, (for whose name and fame and freedom no sacrifice her barns can make is too great), than the greasy Flesh-pots of a Cat-and-Dog Blood-and Iron worshipping Egypt, Pots which must be kept boiling by the blood and money of the cowed and degraded slaves of a foreign Pharaoh!

In one word, it was not negations of all manly progress which were the backbone of our Early Iron-age Races. It was their far other and better qualities, which, amid all their faults, enabled them to rebuild so many down-trodden Roman folklands, undermined and ruined by the terrible degradation and corruption and despotism of the Roman system, — and which have since made these Northern

Clans the pioneers, in the Old World and the New, of that ever extending chain of Christian Colonies and Culture whose final result, in a distant future, as yet no eye can see.

Let us hope that this olden Northern moral strength, this *Salt* not unknown to their heathen Godlore, but since so much enriched and multiplied among them by more than a thousand years' in-drinking of the Christian Revelation — never may lose its Savor! May the Northern-Anglic folk ever stand fast against those beggarly fetishes — modern Materialism and modern Nihilism!

[The Rider to these Lectures — a Supplement written in 1882 — will appear in «Mémoires» for 1884.]

PROF. S. BUGGE'S STUDIES ON NORTHERN
MYTHOLOGY.

By Prof. Dr. GEORGE STEPHENS, F. S. A.

RIDER.

(July—November 1882).

At p. 380 I was able to break new ground, quite apart from my arguments generally, by the sudden discovery of a striking personage in the Northern God-lore — *LOKE the bane of Baldor* — CUT IN STONE in the 7th age or soon thereafter, in a Scandinavian colony; the tale therefore existing centuries further back in the homeland whence the settlers came. Since then additional finds have been made of a like kind, STONES carved with episodes from the olden Northern god-lore. This opens out a new field of research, and will lead to important results in various directions. I give the chief of these fresh FACTS, in the order they have reached me.

BRIGHAM, CUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

At pp. 211—215 of «Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Ant. and Archæol. Soc.», Vol. 6, the English oldlorist the Rev. W. S. Calverley, of Dearham, following my hints in my paper on the Brough stone, has given «Illustrations of Teutonic Mythology from early Christian Monuments at Brigham and Dearham.» He first handles a fragment (the head) of a Cross, now placed over the Brigham vicarage porch, which he thus describes (p. 212): «Of red sandstone, and measures one foot nine inches

across the arms, and one foot five inches from the top to the fracture at the waist of the figure. It is sculptured on both sides and at the ends. The front

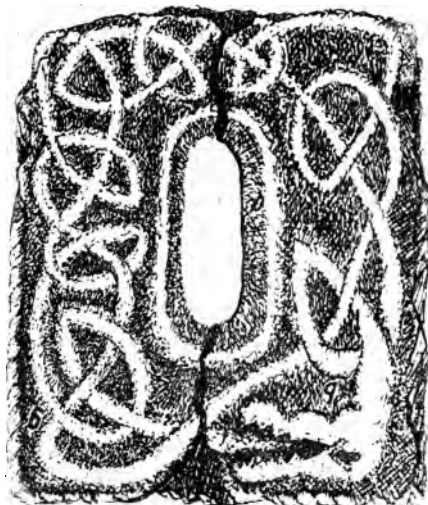


shews the head and body of a man having long wavy hair, and grasping with his right hand a serpent, whose body is coiled around his waist, and twisted into the usual knot in the opposite arm of the cross; above this knot the left hand of the figure is raised with open palm in an attitude of victory. — On the reverse seven small bosses, within a circle, a head and two patterns of knot work. — On the ends of the arms knots.“

In my opinion, Mr. Calverley is quite right in identifying the above figure, (here Heliotyped by Pacht from his sketch No. I), as CHRIST THE CONQUEROR OF THE DEVIL, whose representative here is the usual olden art-symbol of the Serpent. But it is employed independently, in a way I do not remember to have seen before, owing doubtless to reminiscences of the Scandinavian Midgarth-worm or World-snake, the great Leviathan of the North, the dreadful son of the evil LOKE, and the fury Angurboda. And, with a touch of Classical tradition, it also reminds us of the Infant Hercules¹).

¹) See the remarks of K. Simrock (Handb. d. Deutschen Mythologie, ed. 3, Bonn 1869, p. 245) on Thor — at Bringham Thor-Christ — as Hercules.

Next, Mr. Calverley discusses and engraves the Socket of a Cross at Brigham. Whether this once belonged to the above Crosshead or was the base of a second Cross, we shall never know. Our author's words are (p. 211): "Of light-coloured sandstone, and measures two feet ten inches by two feet six inches, with a thickness of one foot. It is cracked through the middle longitudinally. — The top of the socket has a cable moulding running round it, similar to the one round the pedestal of the Dearham Font. — The place for the reception of the cross stem has a raised edge, and measures sixteen inches by eight inches, perforating the stone. Around it coils the serpent, with wolfish mouth and teeth and swollen throat, the tail of whom, after many windings and wanderings, finds refuge only in its own mouth. On the shortest of the three sculptured sides of the socket is a strange figure, composed of a wide distended throat, over whose cavernous depths fang-like limbs appear to close with ominous strength, and the twisted tail of the serpent, which is partially restrained by an eight-shaped knot or bond.



— On another side the head of a horse [or Mare] takes the place of the wolfish head and wide throat of the two figures which I have already noticed, and the serpent-like intertwinings seem to consist of two bodies issuing from the neck of the horse, and becoming incorporated each with the other. These are also bound by a knot . . . On the other side of the socket, part of which has crumbled away, there still remains the head of a wolf, nose resting on tail, which is curled round, not rampant, shewing teeth and claws, and having tail erect, as on the Dearham Font, yet certainly not dead, though calm, and under subjection. All the designs on this socket shew vigour, and at the same time restraint.«

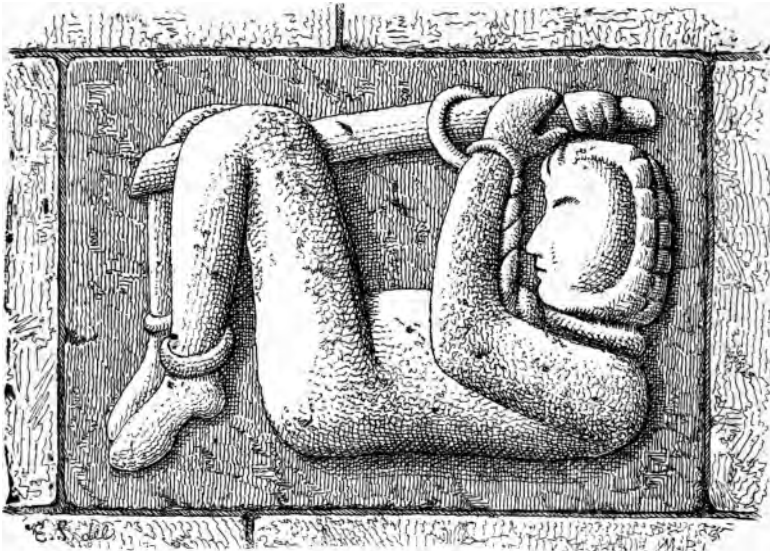
I think all who look on the above drawing (also Heliotyped by Pacht from Mr. Calverley's sketch No. II) of the top surface of this remarkable Cross-base, will agree with the learned writer that we have here undoubtedly THE MID-GARTH-WORM, the Scandinavian Hell-snake, taken up by a native artist, probably a converted heathen Dane, as nearest answering to the Serpent-symbol used by the Church for THE DEVIL. This I believe to be plain and sure, whether or no we admit our author's ingenious identifications of the other carvings. But here again we have a certain amount of novelty, and probably a clue to further discoveries in the history of the oldest symbolisms in the Scando-Anglic lands. — Mr. Calverley has not stated what he thinks the age of these fragments may be¹). From their style and treatment and extreme rudeness, I think they date from the 7th century, certainly not later than the 8th. — The Cross, with or without the figure of Christ or other holy pictures, which once towered upward on this its base, spoke to all

¹) I examined them personally in July 1882; they are most striking, and are well worthy of a visit.

men as on other similar Crosses, of THE DIVINE REDEEMER AS KING AND VICTOR OVER EVIL.

VINDING, JUTLAND, DENMARK.

In 1878 Dr. Sophus Müller and the Architect Erik Schiödte examined the Churches &c. in a part of Jutland, for the Direction of Antiquarian Monuments, Copenhagen.



Their text and drawings are in the Archives of this Commission under the heading „Holmans Herred, Veile Amt.“ One of the Churches visited was the old granite temple in the Parish of VINDING, whose date is about 1150, at all events not later than the 12th century. Built into the wall of the Nave, high up, on the south side, the room of 2 of the squared stones is taken up by a reclining figure in high

relief. It is a man's bild with a glory (not a Cross-glory) round his head, sleeping on his side; apparently Jacob's dream, so often used as a symbol of the Christian Dispensation. Size 3 feet 3 inches long by 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. — The other figure (first kindly pointed out to me by Architect J. B. Løffler) I describe in full, translating the Ms. text of Dr. S. Müller:

•I Skibets Udmur mod Nord, 5 F. 2 T. over Sökkelen og 1 F. 10 T. fra Skibets nordøstre Hjørne, findes et andet omhyggelig udført, høit Relief i Granit: en mandlig Figur, liggende paa Ryggen; Benene ere trukne op imod Kroppen; Armene ere strakte i Veiret, og Hænderne gribe om en tyk Stok, som fortsætter sig ned imellem Knæene. Hovedet er bøiet ned imod Armene. Et Baand eller snarere rundt Toug sees om Figurens Hals, høire Arm, venstre Haandled, ovenfor begge Fødder og om Stokken. Man skulde sige, at her er fremstillet en Mand, som hænger bunden under en Træstok eller Gren. Klædning er ikke angivet; Haaret falder i lange Lokker og er lige af-kaaret ved Halsen. •

On the outer wall of the Nave towards the North, 5 f. 2 inches above the plinth and 1 f. 10 from the N. E. corner of the Nave, is another carefully executed high Relief of granite. It is the figure of a man lying on his back. The legs are drawn up towards the body, the arms stretcht out, and the hands grasp a thick stick, which is continued down between the knees. The head is bent towards the arms. A band or rather a round rope is twisted round the neck, the right arm, the left wrist, above both the feet and round the log. We might say, that here we have the representation of a man who hangs bound under a tree-stock or branch. The dress is not markt. The hair falls in long locks, and is cut off all round at the neck.

The slab in question fills the space of one of the usual stones, and therefore, like the former one, was built in when the Church was erected. Its size is given as about 2 feet long by 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. All the granite blocks used in the early parts of the Church are nicely drest. I need not enter into details as to the repairs and alterations this olden building has since undergone. Such will be found in Dr. S. Müller's Ms., and Hr. Schiødte has added

drawings of the Church itself and of its Font, also of granite, a large round basin entirely unadorned. Hr. Schiödte's sketch of THE BOUND FIGURE is as exact as he could make it.

Now what could this extraordinary basrelief, carefully let into the northern wall when this was raised in the middle of the 12th year-hundred, possibly have signified? It can only have one explanation. We have *hundreds* of examples, all over Europe, of the Clergy who planned the olden Churches placing THE EVIL ONE OR EVIL LUSTS — variously symbolized by a Serpent, a Dragon, or by fantastic figures from the older popular or Classical mythology, — *outside* the building especially on the *Northern* side, which from ancient times has always been lookt upon as the kingdom of the Prince of Darkness. *Inside* the Holy House nothing unclean should come. Even at this moment Self-murderers &c. are usually buried on the Northern side. But if this image was intended to represent THE DEVIL, it was evidently by the local artist carried out according to the national traditions then in vogue round about him. He has given us THE HEATHEN SATAN. But he and his forefathers knew that this wicked being had been punisht by the Gods, WAS BOUND AND FETTERED till the Last Day. It is *this main fact* which is here held fast. Other details have disappeared, for at this time *all Denmark had long been Christian*.

GOSFORTH, CUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

In my paper on the Brough Runic stone¹⁾ I pointed out, as a proof of the intensely Scandinavian character of the district, that in the next Parish, Kirkby Stephen, also in Westmoreland, was found in church-repairs a fragment

¹⁾ This plate is repeated at p. 378 in the Mémoires for 1882-3.

of a grave-cross bearing the figure of Satan bound to a rock¹⁾. By analogy with other such English crosses, the *missing* block which once stood above this one undoubtedly was carved with a bild of Christ, or some symbolical image of Christ, there placed as trampling on the fiend. But this bound man, as I pointed out, tho certainly Lucifer, was in fact not the Christian Devil, but a survival of the heathen Northern traitor, the bound LOKÉ. This essay of mine, by advance sheets from Vol. 3 of my Old-Northern Runic Monuments, was publisht in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society (Vol. 5, Part 1, Kendal 1881). My identification excited general interest, and especially drew the notice of an excellent local antiquary, the Rev. W. S. Calverley, Vicar of Dearham in Cumberland. He at once examined the Kirkby Stephen fiend, and afterwards, on seeing the Cross at Gosforth, was convinced that the LOKÉ of our pagan forefathers was sculptured there also. He communicated his ideas to me, procured me photographs thro the kind intervention of Dr. Parker, and now in the most friendly manner permits me to print here his remarks on the pillar:

«Nr. I. South side. At the top, is a beast, head upwards; the tail, which differs from all others, is curled round. See the tail of the figure on the Brigham Cross socket [here given at p. 3]. Beneath is a beast having the head of a swine, with a ring thro its snout, head upwards, body of vertebræ not divided. Beneath is a Hind or Deer, under this a dog (or greyhound) with interlaced work. Still lower a figure on horseback. Beneath this the tail part of an animal, resembling the two which are parallel

¹⁾ See the engraving, by Prof. Magnus Petersen, at p. 379 of the *Mémoires* for 1882-1883.

on the 4th side. Beneath this, again, an anthropomorphic interlaced design. Below, is the World-ash.

• No. II. East side. Each arm contains the Triquetra, the sacred sign of the Holy Trinity. Beneath and at the top of the shaft is a zoomorphic figure, 2 intertwined serpent-like bodies and great heads, whether wolfish or swinish I know not, but by the tongue and other considerations I should say wolfish. One head is upwards; the other downward head attacks one with staff in hand, who has already overcome the beast beneath him, of which the head has disappeared, as has also the head of the figure below the man on horseback, with staff upraised, on the South side. Beneath this is a panel containing the Crucifixion. The Cross is not seen, but the arms are outstretched, and from out the right side issues the double stream. Two figures stand below; the one piercing the side of Christ with a long spear, whose staff and point are plainly seen. Beneath these is the Worm-figure.

• No. III. North side. In the ends of the arms of the cross are knots. Beneath is an uncommon figure consisting of wings, rings and head¹⁾, a gaping head downwards. The tail touches the Triquetra. Beneath is a pair of wings attached to the trunk by a ring, and in this manner 8 pairs of wings are fastened by 8 rings. Each alternate ring passes *over* the wing and *under* the vertebra, and each alternate ring passes *under* the wings and *over* the vertebra.

¹⁾ •The head of this figure and its position reminds me at once of a similar head placed downwards in the illuminations of the Book of *Kells*. There the beast is trying to swallow the Shamrock, but all down the stem of the Shamrock bud forth the fronds of the Palm branch, and I fancy the monster will be balked of its prey." This remark of Mr. Calverley is quite correct, for in the oldest Irish symbolism the Shamrock — as well as the Triquetra — is the symbol of the Holy Trinity.

The last or lowest ring passes *under* the wing and *over* the vertebra; then comes the head, large with big round eye, and huge teeth in both upper and lower jaws. Beneath is a figure on horseback, with staff in right hand, and beneath this again a figure on horseback overturned, also with staff in right hand. This North side therefore seems to shew the combined forces making a final attack on the Christian. These forces are restrained by the Trinity, and the last enemy is overturned. At the bottom of this side is the emblem of Eternity. Lowest of all, here as all round the stem, are the intertwined branches of the World-tree, Ygdrasil.

„No. IV. West side. In the centre of the circular head is a projecting boss, as (tho now indistinctly) on the East side. In each arm is the Triquetra, as on the oldest Irish monuments. The circle joining the arms is ornamented with plait-work. The first figure beneath the Triquetra, at the top of the stem, has its head upwards, somewhat similar to the heads on the South side. Its body consists of work repeated on the East side without a head, similar to the interlaced work on the circular lower part of the Cross stem and upon the Dearham Cross, the Irton Cross and others; only here and on the East side each „vertebra“ splits into two ribs, before passing under those which proceed from the upper one. Beneath this figure are two beasts heads downwards, parallel to each other, lower jaw to lower jaw, with fierce-looking teeth and knotted tails, restrained from harming one who stands staff in hand in front of them, preventing them from advancing on him, whilst with his left hand he points to 'Hel' upon her Horse overthrown. She has a girdle or belt round her waist. In Lyson's representation the Staff-bearing figure grasps a Horn in the other hand. There is no doubt of this curved appendage. On examining the stone, I think that the bend of the Horn is at the *Elbow* of the figure. Beneath lies

Loké, bound hand and foot, whilst, as you first pointed out, »his wife, SIGYN, with her cup catches the etter as it drips from the worm.« I find on the Cross itself Sigyn's *patera* clearly markt as she kneels on one knee, holding the bowl with her left hand. The head of the snake is indistinct.«

After reading these valuable details, and after my own careful examination of the Cross in July 1882 in company with Dr. Ch. A. Parker and the Rev. Ch. Dowding, let us recapitulate and combine. All that we have hitherto known of this wonderful Pillar, which has escaped as by a miracle the dangers of some 1200 years — chiefly from its being in a far-off lonely little-visited out-of-the-way thinly peopled district, only lately opened up by the Furness Railway — is as follows. In Vol. 4 of D. and S. Lysons' *Magna Britannia* (4to. London 1816) we have a mean and incorrect engraving, and the following text, p. cci; »The cross in Gosforth Church yard is fourteen feet in height; the lower part is nearly round, and the upper part nearly square. The four sides are enriched with various guilloches and other ornaments, besides several figures of men and animals in bas relief; it is remarkable that a figure of a man on horseback on the North side is repeated upside down, and another is represented in the same manner on the West side.« — In Dr. John Stuart's invaluable »*Sculptured Stones of Scotland*«, folio, Vol. 2, Edinburgh 1867, we have, plates 24, 25, 28, this Cross, and (plate 28) the fragments of Crosses found in the same churchyard and »now [= then] in the rector's possession«. His *description* is only half-a-dozen lines. His *plates* (24 and 25, the double folio) give all the 4 sides elegantly lithographt, no less than 18 inches high. But the details are wonderfully faulty, and no one would ever have found LOKÉ here. Whence the learned author procured his drawings, he does not say.

Mr. Calverley, who has been under great obligations to the Rev. Thomas Lees, M. A., Vicar of Wreay, Carlisle, for hospitality and assistance and loan of books and facsimilies from his valuable library, as well as to Dr. Parker of Gosforth for photographs¹⁾ after his careful cleaning of the Cross in the proper season, winter, writes me: "The Cross is of red sandstone. It stands in a rectangular, unornamented socket of 3 steps, and is fourteen and a half feet high, the whole being cut out of *one solid block*. In a similar socket near-by stands part of the stem of what may have been a similar Cross." I have somewhere seen the tradition, that these 2 Crosses originally formed *one* grave-monument, the one at the head and the other at the foot of the barrow.

In one word, the Homily preach't by this monolith appears to me, THE FALL OF EVIL BEFORE GOOD; THE TRIUMPH OF GOD THRO CHRIST OVER SIN, DEATH AND THE DEVIL. It is a holy picture-book, speaking to the eyes of a Scandinavian or Anglic population still largely heathen, and teaches Christian lore by appeals to and parallel ideas in their own pagan traditions, in a way which they all would understand. For all mythologies contain some elements and echoes of primeval Truth. The gifted Bishop or Priest who designed this elaborate carving thought and said, as was thought and said by the Holy Paul before him (Acts, 17, 23), "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you."

I. South side. — The Dragon-snake at the top in vain assails the Sacred Symbols on the head of the Rood. — The Swine-worm below (Leviathan²⁾) thought as one with the

¹⁾ Without the large and magnificent light-blds for which I have to thank Dr. Charles A. Parker, C. B., several of my preliminary identifications on this Cross would have been impossible.

²⁾ "Canst thou draw out leviathan with an hook? or his tongue with a cord which thou lettest down? Canst thou

Swine into which Christ cast the Devils, and thus a united Biblical Fiend) has a ring in his snout; his might is fettered for ever.

This chemitype, one of 4 executed by Prof. Magnus Petersen of Copenhagen at the expense of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archaeological society, gives the Swine-Leviathan section above described. It fits directly on to and continues upward the plate immediately following below, Christ the Divine Hart trampling on the Fenris-wolf and the Midgarth-worm. The other 3 Cumberland plates are the Crucifixion, the Heimdal compartment, and Christ as Widar. For permission to take clichées of these 4 pieces, ere they were sent off to England, the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries has to thank the kindness of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Society.

Lower still, the Divine Hart victoriously downtreads the Northern Hell-wolf FRÉKÉ (= the Greedy-one), better known as the Fenris-wolf¹), and also at his side the dread



put an hook into his nose? or bore his jaw through with a thorn?" Job. ch. 41, v. 1, 2. — In the Scando-Anglic lands the Leviathan (= the Crocodile or Whale or whatever it was) becomes the national MIDGARTH WORM.

¹) Mr. Calverley has again examined the Rood, after the Cast has been taken by the South-Kensington workmen. It is therefore now still cleaner than before. Mr. C. writes me,

JORMUNGAND or World-serpent, — both these monsters being the unnatural offspring of LOKÉ, Baldor's bane, the perfidious and cruel Scando-Anglic Devil. I here give this remarkable episode, photo-xylograph by Rosenstand from the large sun-picture:



(At the top of the eastern Penrith Pillar, under the Cross, is apparently the same figure. It has 4 legs, and if not the Stag or Hart must have been the Lamb or the Lion. However damaged, it was here the symbol of Christ, triumphing over the interwoven dracontine scrolls below and around). — Then, beneath, is a Spear-bearer on horseback, in my opinion THE KING OF KINGS spoken of in the Revelation of St. John (Ch. 19), as fighting on his war-steed against the powers of Evil. Here he rides onward, above the now headless Serpent and a man-headed down-struck monster.

II. East. — A double interlaced Wolf-snake or Swine-worm. Above, the one ravenous Head attacks in vain the Holy Threeness (the Triquetra, here everywhere carved single), on the Rood-top. Below, *the Lord Christ* forces open with his left hand the jaws of the beast, stepping with his heavy Shoe on the nether jaw¹). Thus he here melts into, or is

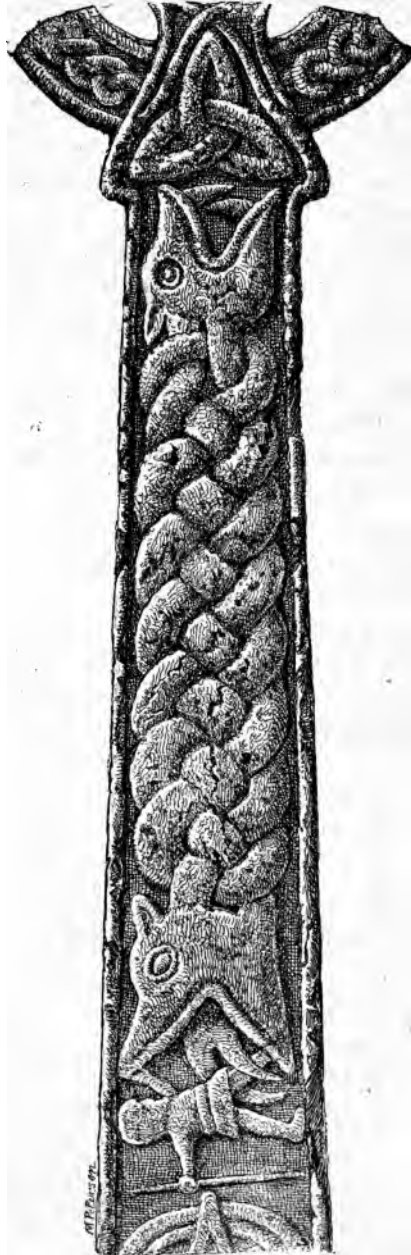
under date Sept. 22, 1882: »The Wolf itself is plain; its long brush-like tail lies close to his hind legs.« This could not be so well seen in the light-bild, from which my woodcut was engraved.

¹) »Now that the Cross is clean, the figures are plainer than formerly. East side, one leg of the man (the left) is inside the mouth; the foot (which is partly broken away) has been on the lower jaw. The left hand is distinctly seen,

pictured as or unites the strength-gift of, the silent God WIDAR (= the Restorer), (W)oden's son, who in this way in the last great fight slays the Fenris-wolf, and when the sinful world is burnt comes back to the new Heavens and the new Earth. But on this Cross he is also already «Sigor», Victor over a headless worm-creature below him, against which his right hand raises his Staff of Might.

Under this, in an upright oblong cartouche, is the Great Sacrifice, the God-man offering himself as a ransom, the Crucifixion. He is clad and girded,

wrenching asunder the mouster.« (Extract from a letter from the Rev. W. S. Calverley, who had just again visited the Cross, dated Sept. 22, 1882.



standing freely, as in the oldest western types. The Cross itself is understood, not seen. Below is a belted Soldier with his Spear, piercing the right side of Christ, whence issues a stream that soon divides into 3 and then falls in drops. Opposite him stands Mary Magdalene carrying her alabaster box of ointment, a long slim rapidly narrowing *alabastrum* or *unguentum*, which ends in a fine lip or mouth. Her large hair-plait behind is like that worn by *sigyn* in the Loke panel¹⁾. — Below, is an intertwined double-serpent. On Swedish runic monuments the Snake is sometimes thus double, or even three-fold, for emphasis or decoration, even when (as where we see Sigurd slaying the Dragon) only *one* such monster is actually meant.

III. North. — On the Cross-head, above, is plait work; below, a cable-pattern running straight down. — The mysterious winged Goblin-chain on the stem, which is driven netherward by the Triquetra (Holy Threeness) on the Cross-arms, I look upon as the Apocalyptic Antichrist. We see him here finally challenged by the Spear-armed KING OF KINGS below, sitting proudly on his war-horse. — This same Conqueror also, apparently, drives DEATH ON HIS PALE HORSE

¹⁾ Is this striking introduction of Mary Magdalene — so rare in oldest days — another trace of the source whence came so much of the early evangelisation of England? Here again it is THE EASTERN CHURCH, where she was so highly honored; so GAUL, whose Christendom mostly came from the East; IRELAND, won to the fold by preachers taught in Gaul and Britain, and so COLUMBA, AIDAN, CUTHBERT and the rest. Early legends made famous the voyage of MARY MAGDALENE and her house to Marseilles, and the 30 years' episcopate of LAZARUS there. Her sanctity and miracles were widely spread in Gaul. On the Ruthwell Cross (date ab. 680, see my O. North. Run. Mon. Vol. I, p. 414 and plate) she is carved wiping the feet of Jesus with her long hair. This scene is described on the stone in Latin uncial letters, the ALABASTRVM VNGVENTI being particularly mentioned, tho not introduced in the stone picture.





down into Hell, whence is no escape, as the endless timeless knot beneath him shows. Thus the Christian artist has here avoided the heathen **HELA** or **HELL**, the goddess of Death, the third child of **Lóké** by the giant-witch **Angurboda**, and has kept close to the Christian death-killing of the Revelation. The former, by tradition, rides a *three*-legged horse. The steed of the latter had *four* legs. The *eight*-legged **Sleipner**, (**W**)oden's demon-born charger, has been found carved on stones in Gotland, Sweden.

IV. West. — That the reader may have some idea of the whole, I add this side of the Cross, tho on a very small scale. This and the **Lóké** episode are drawn and chemityped by Prof. Magnus Petersen from the large sun-bilds. — The Serpent-thing in vain would bite the awful **Triquetra**, which is carved double on all the 4 cross-arms of this side. Lower down the belted Saviour drives back with his Staff-

wielding¹⁾ right arm the double-dragon, his left arm holding the pagan Northern Trump whose sound echoed over all worlds, summoning the mighty ones to withstand the foul armies of the ethnic Gog and Magog. In this case the GJALLAR-HORN of HEIMDAL, the sleepless warder of Asgard²⁾, has naturally been given to our Lord, and Christ-Heimdal in this way becomes the ever-watchful and the providential Shepherd of his people, as well as their everlasting and almighty King and Captain. — With his Horn-bearing hand he here hurls DEATH AND THE DEVIL into the bottomless pit. The Death on horseback is again from the Revelation (ch. 6, v. 8, and ch. 19, v. 14). Below him, we all can see the Northern fiend LOKÉ, the slayer of Baldor the Good. He is therefore here in harmony with the Scandinavian god-tale. He is bound hand and foot on a rock, for so was he punished by the wrathful Gods. Above him the Serpent spits his venom, while SIGYN, the criminal's devoted wife, with a cup

¹⁾ In Northern god-lore the Staff — the symbol of *might over living and dead* — plays a great part. It afterwards passes over to Christian Saints.

²⁾ Heimdal dwells on *Heaven-burg* by *Bever-raust* (Rocking-bridge, = the Rainbow), which he defends against the *Berg-rises* (the mountain-giants). Having once run Loke thro' with his sword, Heimdal was also called *Loké-tamer*. In *Ragnareek* (the twilight of the Gods, the last great battle) Heimdal slays Loke, but himself falls before him. — In 1832 N. F. S. Grundtvig says (*Nordens Mythologi*, p. 542): «i Universal-Historien staaer unægtelig ogsaa Christus som en Heimdal, der vækker de aandelige Kræfter paa Jorden til den sidste Strid,» = *undoubtedly therefore in our World-story Christ is a Heimdal, waking up all the spiritual forces on our earth to the last fight*. Our pagan forefathers thus held fast the great thought, which sheds such mystic lustre on the Christian system, that we men have the wondrous privilege to be fellow-workers with God. Hence all stout soldiers assemble in Walhall, marshaled there by (W)oden to aid him in the last fearful struggle against the hosts of Sin.

catches the poison-drops. When she draws back to empty the beaker, the pain is so great and Loke's writhings are so terrible that land and sea are shaken, and this is the real cause of what we call *earthquakes*. — Below the whole, under all the carvings, is the round-stemmed World-tree of our fore-elders, which tells *us* the same story as it told *them*, only evangelized. The Danish Bishop N. F. S. Grundtvig (Nordens Mytologi, 2nd ed. Kjøbenhavn, 1832, p. 229) said long ago of this Beam of Mankind, this Stem-tree of the human race: »er Gothisk tilgavns, og lader sig ikke afmale end sige steenhugge«, = *Gothic it is to the core, cannot be painted, still less carved in stone*. Yet here and elsewhere in England it is plainly »carved in stone«, which would have delighted the heart of the good old bishop, had he known it.

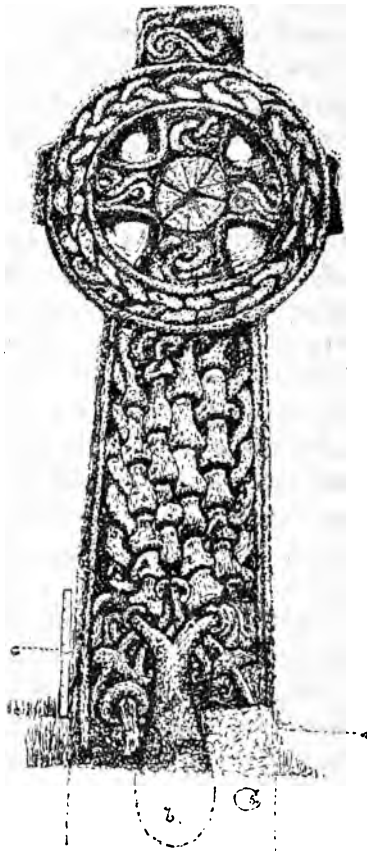
And now *how old* is this Rood-stone, 4-sided above and round below? A vexed question indeed! No one knows. It is »prehistorical«, having outlived all its records and surroundings. All we can say is, that, like several of its oldest North-English compeers, it is of the most ancient Kelto-Anglic type known to us, pointing back to the great Kelto-Northumbrian missions of the 6th and 7th century. It bears no inscription. Should the now *missing* Pillar have belonged to it, the whole having made *one* grave-monument, the death-words may have stood on that fellow-block. If not, it was a Churchyard Bible, a preacher in stone as elsewhere, built for purposes of instruction. In any case its execution was directed by Christian talent, and the hands employed have been highly skilled in their art, probably workmen brought over from Italy or Gaul. I know of no other Cross in all Christendom so excessively elegant and graceful, and with such rich non-Roman decorations, as this.

But there is one striking feature which may help to a *probable* date. As is evident to all men, this *Christian* pillar is also *redolent of heathendom*. It openly handles the true faith in a light and interpretation, taken from that olden creed which the Gospel came to supplant. We have pagan Gods and Myths, honorably treated, straight before our eyes. How could this be possible?

It *was* possible, here as elsewhere, if we look upon these things as carved in that twilight of North-English history when Keltic and Anglic bodesmen, many of them great in gifts as in zeal and love, traversed the wilds of these Northern «kingdoms» heralding the new Saviour, and adding chieftain and district after chieftain and district to the fold of Christ. At this very early period such intermingling of the two religions, such teaching of the new *trow* *by help* of the old where fundamental ideas and analogies were in common, was as inevitable as it was permissible. It has happened everywhere under the like circumstances, where a mission among «barbarians» has been largely successful and popular, striking the strings of national feeling. — But all this could not have been *later* than the 7th year-hundred. The quicker Christianity spread and the deeper down its roots struck, *the less* could Bishops and Clergy permit the use of symbols and pictures so «shockingly» and openly *heathen* on solemn public *Christian* monuments.

For instance, as to the myths here of the World-tree and of Loké and Sigyn with her Cup. And I know of no other Cross with a *round stem*, still less such a round base *carved with a tree*. In July 1882 I visited Beckermeth in Cumberland; but the cross-stems there are *not round*, only more or less in their natural roundish shape, slightly helped by art, and *without* any tree or other carving. The lower parts of the 2 Penrith Crosses, in Cumberland, are also roundish not round; they are dreadfully broken and weathered, and we cannot see whether the stem-work has symbolized a tree.

Apparently it has been the interwoven pattern. — I need not enter here into the difficult and complicated subject of the Sacred Tree and its worship, as known to us from the oldest Aryan lands and times downwards. It of course comes in contact with the Tree of Life in Paradise, and later with the special Christ-tree THE VINE, of which all true Christians are branches. On Christian grave-stones it assumes endless shapes, often grounded on the Cross budding into a Vine. And this idea is sometimes most beautifully exprest, now and then with deep poetic feeling. For instance, on the Great Milton stone, Oxfordshire (Cutts, Sepulchral Slabs, pl. 48), from its root — THE LAMB with glory (CHRIST) — springs upward a rich conventional Vine, which ends at the top in a flowering Cross, enclosing a second Rood in its center. On this Gosforth Cross it is clearly the Northern WORLD-TREE YGDRASIL, used by the Christian erranders as allegorizing and equal to THE TREE OF LIFE in Eden. But this again was a type of Christ from the earliest Christian days. It is so interpreted by Latin and Greek Fathers, be-



ginning with Justin Martyr in the middle of the 2nd century, and holding on down to the Reformation. Luther and Calvin repeat the view, both stating openly that the Paradise-beam is the Lord Jesus. — But we have another yet clearer example of the heathen *Yggdrasil* symbolizing Christ, the upholder of all things. I here copy (from the Rev. W. S. Calverley's plate in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiq. and Archæol. for 1881) the one side of the 7th or 8th century stone-cross in Dearham churchyard, Cumberland, which I myself have examined¹):

There might possibly be yet other or more minute identifications of heathen myths on these Scando-Anglic remains²), if we had *parchment-written* details about the local god-tales once current in various shapes all over England, Denmark, Sweden and Norway. What is left is chiefly from Iceland and the Norse-Icelandic colonies, little from Denmark, still less from England.

And all this *survival* is familiar to us everywhere, and still goes on in our midst. I will give one instance. In July 1882 I entered an elegant Unitarian Chapel in London. It has a large modern painted-glass window. Three compartments below show scenes in the life of Christ. Above are many symbols copied from olden pictures. They are:

¹) 5 feet 5 inches high. At *a* there are breaks in the stone; *b* shows the continuation of stem of tree underground; *c* is a foot-rule, set up against cross as scale.

²) We cannot expect much *directly heathen* in Scandinavia on the old-laves there. The Scandian lands were not nominally Christianized till about the year 1000. But by that time the pagan myths had already largely fallen away, or become weakened or modified. On the other hand, the Western Church at that date was *strictly disciplined*, and usually avoided god-tale carvings on Grave-pillars, Fonts and the like. On the contrary in North-England, in the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries, large Scandian populations were still heathen, while the Church was wisely tolerant.

the Triquetra, the famous emblem of the Holy Trinity, and *the Swastika*, the emblem of the Sun-god, the Almighty source of everlasting light and joy, as usual transferred to the Lord Jesus. Of course the designer of this window only blindly copied things, as mere ornaments, of whose art-meaning he knew nothing.

This Cross, then, must be excessively ancient, for our *oldest* British records contain severe enactments and warnings, by synods and laws and otherwise, *against* pagan reminiscences, most of them trifling and harmless compared with the dangerous heathen god-tales *publicly* appealed-to on this pillar. The *earliest* «terminus» we can give for its date is the 6th year-hundred; the *latest* is the 8th. In every way most likely is the 7th. So far, the date is immaterial in my argument, for *all* admit that it *cannot* be *later* than the 8th century, but bearing traditions that came-in with the settlers centuries before. In a word, *the lower down* we bring it, the greater is *the impossibility* that it could have been *carved at all!* — If Christ is nearly BALDOR on the *Ruthwell Cross* from about the year 680, we need not wonder at finding LOKÉ, SIGYN, WIDAR, HEIMDAL, FENRIS, THE MIDGARTH-WORM or World-snake and the World-ash YGDRASIL *here*¹⁾, if this piece be *at least* as early.

¹⁾ In August 1882 I had the pleasure of proposing to the authorities of the South Kensington Museum that — as the Gosforth Cross and Fragment were now accessible by Railway, and would be exposed to all the dangers of a stream of Tourists — these costly remains should be copied by CASTS, and erected in the Museum. This idea was favorably received, and will be carried out by the Museum. As the moulds will be taken care of, similar Casts will soon be in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The greater the number of Casts, the less will be the expense for each. Probably the Northern Museums will not neglect this opportunity of obtaining copies of monuments so remarkable in themselves, and so illustrative of

GOSFORTH, CUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

We have to thank Dr. Parker not only for his generous energy in making known the beautiful Gosforth Cross, but also for his happy find of another costly Cross-fragment. He kindly gave me, on the 7th of July, 1882, his own valuable statement as to the steps which led to this remarkable discovery. This paper he permits me to add here:

„On the 16th March 1882 I went down to the churchyard at Gosforth, to take some measurements of the great cross which stands on the south side of the church about the centre of the churchyard. The cross had „formerly, „as is reported, a fellow column at about 7 feet distance, „with an horizontal stone between the two on which was „rudely cut the figure of a large and antique sword. This „stone has been taken away within memory, and the cross „which crowned the *two columns* (evidently a misprint for „*second column*) after that column was cruelly cut down and „converted into a style for a sundial, was put into the parson's garden at Gosforth and there remains.“ (Gentlemen

the olden Scandinavian mythology. — I may add that at the annual meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland at Carlisle, Aug. 1—9, a Paper on the Gosforth Cross, jointly written by the Rev. W. S. Calverley and Dr. Charles A. Parker, C. B., was read on the 3rd of August. It is announced for publication, with illustrations, in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Ant. & Arch. Soc. Part 2, VI, 1883. We will hope that Dr. Parker will issue large photographs of his splendid and minute outline-drawings of this Cross. — Nov. 1882. Casts of this Cross, and of the famous Irton Cross in Yorkshire, are now in the Kensington Museum. And I have great pleasure in adding, that Messrs Williams and Norgate have just issued, at a very low price, Dr. Parker's description of the Gosforth Rood, &c., with excellent autotype figures of all the remains.

Magazine, Part II, 1799, Vol. 79, page 833). "On the column which was destroyed were two indistinct figures of horses and men." (Jeffersons Allerdale above Derwent, page 303).

"These columns probably stood east and west, the existing one being the most easterly.

"Almost due south of the existing cross (which stands in a square socket of 3 steps facing east and west) is a plain square socket, measuring 2ft 7 by 2ft 9 and quite 2ft thick. The corners of this stone point nearly north, south, east and west. In the centre of the upper surface is a square hole, each side of which is 1ft 11 in. long, the hole going about half way through the stone socket. In this hole stands the sundial, which is an octagonal pillar a little over 3ft in length, measuring 8 inches in diameter at the top and 2ft 8½ inches round; at the level of the upper surface of the socket it is only 2ft 5 in circumference, being much too small for the square hole in which it stands.

"The distance between the shaft of the cross and the sundial is within an inch or two of 15 feet, which coincides with the space between the two pillars at Penrith. In the churchyard are preserved two cross heads, both imperfect. The first has apparently been a gable cross, having a tongue on its lower limb which fits roughly into the socket hole of a ridge stone, preserved alongside of it. It is ornamented with rude interlaced work. One of the horizontal limbs and half of the glory are broken off. It measures perpendicularly 21½ inches without the tongue, which is 5½ inches in length. The base of lower limb is 6½ in. broad. The second is more massive and is also ornamented with interlaced work of varying patterns, and on the only remaining part of the circle or glory has a beautiful sort of chain-cable pattern. This latter is, I think, the head of the missing column. It measures 23 inches across; the upper limb is

gone, the lower limb which is the broadest of the three is 10 inches broad at the base.

«I am told that the »horizontal stone on which was »rudely sculptured the figure of a large and antique sword« is now in use as the lintel of the door of a house, in the village called Gosforth Gate. If so, the carved side is hidden.

«Whilst measuring the distance between the cross and dial, I noticed a flat stone, much worn by heedless feet, which lay as a sort of step on the northeast side of the socket of the dial, the upper surface being just level with the ground. Seeing that it was a separate stone I proposed to move it away, in order to examine that side of the socket by which it lay. With considerable difficulty my servant and I heaved it up and turned it over. It was $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick $27\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. To my great delight the under surface was sculptured in high relief. Some mortar adhered to the middle of the carved surface, but on examining the hole I found a sort of foundation had been made for it with slates and mortar, which probably accounted for it. I at once removed this stone to my house, for present safety and study of it.

This stone has been lying as a step to the dial for many years. The oldest people in the village say it has been there all their lives, but no one of them ever heard of carving upon it. Possibly it was placed there in 1789, in which year the church was enlarged and »nearly all marks of antiquity destroyed.« The *Gentlemans Magazine* of 1799 says, »This stone has been removed within memory &c.«

«In olden days the village Stocks stood quite near the now famous perfect Cross, and the last time it was used was in punishment of a boy who had climbed to the top of the Cross on a Sunday morning.»

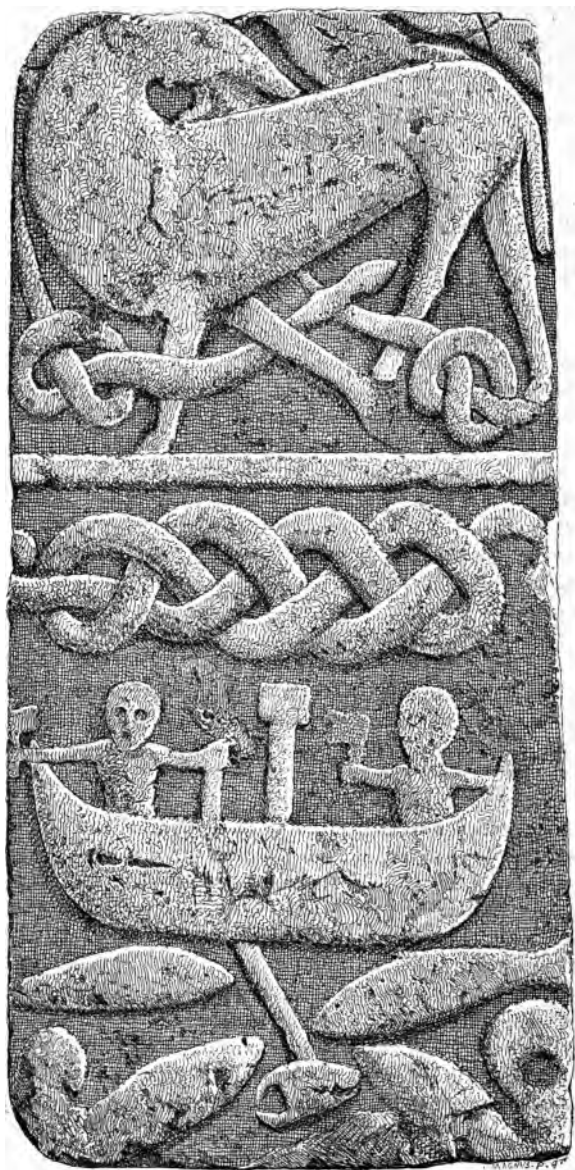
When Dr. Parker obligingly sent me a photograph of this stone, I at once recognized in its carvings another Scandinavian heathen myth, THOR'S ANGLING FOR JORMUNGAND, THE MIDGARTH-WORM, and determined to examine it for myself. This I did in July 1882, accompanied by Dr. Charles A. Parker, C. B., himself and the Rev. Ch. Dowding. These two gentlemen took a rubbing in my presence, and Dr. Parker made separate rubbings of the Axe of Ymer (or Hyme) and of Thor's Hammer. As these helps were so important, I did not wish to do this work myself. No one can say, that *my imagination* has in any way influenced the sun-pictures (2 *different* ones, given me by Dr. Parker) and the rubbings — the materials here used by my accomplished artist, Prof. Magnus Petersen.

Of course there have been many local variations of the olden tale about THUNOR'S FISHING FOR THE WORLD-SNAKE. But most of them have perisht. Only 2, both from Norway-Iceland, have come down to us; one is in the older or Poetical Edda, the other in the Prose Edda. The version found on this stone agrees in all essentials with that in the latter, which I give here, from Sir G. W. Dasent's translation¹⁾.

¹⁾ Thor goes out alone, and without his car and he-goats. «He went out of Midgard in the guise of a young man, and came one even at dusk to a certain giant who is called Ymir: Þórr tarried there as a guest the night over, but at dawn Ymir stood up and made ready to row out to sea to fish; now Þórr sprang up and was soon dressed, and begged that Ymir would let him row out to sea with him; but Ymir says, that little help was to be had from him as he was so little and but a lad, »and (quoth he) thou wilt get a chill, if I sit so long and so far out as I am wont.» But Þórr said he could row from the land for all that, and that it was not sure whether he would be the first to pray to row back; and Þórr was so wrath with the giant that it was nigh then that he had let the hammer ring on his pate straitway; but he bore with him, because he thought soon to try his strength somewhere else. He asked Ymir

Now, as we see from the engraving, the top part of this block is injured. But, fortunately, exactly the same

what they should have for bait, but Ymir bade him get bait for himself; then turned Þórr away thither where he saw an herd of oxen, which belonged to Ymir: he took the biggest ox hight Himinbríotr [= Heaven-tosser], and cut off the head, and went with it to the seashore; Ymir had then shoved off the skiff, Þórr went on board and sat down in the afterroom, (and) took two oars and pulls, and Ymir thought they went along fast from his rowing: Ymir pulls in the bow forward, and the rowing was soon ended; Then said Ymir, that they were come to those waters, where he was wont to sit and draw up flat fish: but Þórr says he will row much farther; and then they took again a swift row; Now Ymir said, that they were come so far out, that it was perilous to sit out for the Midgardsworm, but Þórr says he will row (yet) a bit, and so he did, but Ymir was then very sad. Now when Þórr laid up his oars, he got ready a line very strong, nor was the angle less nor weaker; then put Þórr on the angle the oxhead, and cast it overboard, and the angle went to the ground: and so, sooth it is to say, that Þórr beguiled not a whit less then Midgardsworm, than Utgard's Loki had mocked Þórr when he heaved up the worm in his hand. Midgardsworm gaped wide over the oxhead, but the angle stuck in the worm's gum: Now when the worm knew this, he tugged so hard that both Þórr's fists were dashed against the gunwale, but then was Þórr wrath, and he took on him his Asmight [= God-strength], and so spurned against (the worm), that he dashed both his feet through the ship and spurned the ground, and then drew the worm up on board. And it may be said, that no one hath seen ugly sights who might not see that, when Þórr whet his eyes on the worm, but the worm stared at him from beneath and blew venom. Then is it said that the giant Ymir changed hue, paled, and quaked, when he saw the worm, and that the sea ran out and in the skiff; and just as Þórr grasped his hammer and brought it aloft, then the giant fumbled at his fishingknife, and cut off Þórr's line at the board, but the worm sank in the sea, and Þórr cast the hammer after him; and men say he took the head off him at the ground, but I think it were true to tell thee that Midgardsworm lives yet, and lies in the sea. But Þórr



picture, *well preserved*, is on the Gosforth Cross, and is given above page 14. It is CHRIST AS THE STAG¹⁾ TRAMPLING ON THE EVIL-ONE, here not the Hell-wolf *and* the World-snake, but the Serpent *alone*. Below, is the Head-bruised Worm. Still lower, is the whole tale of THOR'S BOOTLESS FISHING. The Boat is on the deep sea, as shown by the 3 large fishes.

clenched his fist and set it on Ymir's ear, so that he tumbled over board and (Pórr) sees his feet (last); and Pórr waded to land." The Prose or Younger Edda, from the Old Norse, by George Webbe Dasent, B. A. Oxon. Stockholm 1842, 8vo, pp. 66—69.

Thus perisht the white-cheekt Ettin.

- ¹⁾ Besides other sources, the Early Church used David's Psalm 42, v. 1, "As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God," for making THE HART its symbol of Piety, and thus of Apostles, Doctors, the Faithful, Penitents, Virgins and applicants for Baptism. But Christ is especially the Holy and Innocent. Hence THE HART became one of the Church's earliest symbols for CHRIST, the more as it was believed of old to seek for and devour poisonous serpents or drink their etter, the Saviour being the destroyer of Sin. This idea was further developept; a Stag with a crucifix on its brow appeared to S. Eustace, S. Hubert and others, talked with them as Christ of his sufferings, and exhorted to faith in him. THE HART is therefore found on various olden Christian monuments, from the Catacombs downwards, as CHRIST; but it soon gives way before the more general type of the AGNUS DEI, the Lamb.

But the CHRIST-STAG as *king* and *conqueror*, triumphing by mildness and mercy, till at last he is *the irresistible ruler*, crushing his foes and trampling down all monsters under his feet, is another thing. In *this* light I look on him as a loan and survival *from the pagan North*, from BALDOR the bright and beautiful, who, as figuring the uprising and on-rolling SUN, was symbolized by the swiftfooted HART. See F. Magnussen, *Lex. Mythologicum*, p. 719; Sv. Grundtvig, *Sæmundar Edda*, København 1874, p. 225; J. J. A. Worsaae, *Nordens Forhistorie*, Kjøb. 1881, p. 166. Passing over from mythology to mythology, the Hart as Sun-symbol clove to the Sun-god of each creed. As, however, essentially of

The giant YME¹⁾ is in the bow forward; THOR stands at the stern, holding with his left hand the fishing line, whose hook is baited with the Ox-head, which the Worm had seized. Between the Ettin and the Hammer-God is the mast, with its crows-nest, look-out or basket at the top, a feature of great antiquity also in the Classical lands. In his right hand THUR(=) grasps his mighty mall, ready to strike the ocean-monster. The giant is alarmed. Not a moment is to be lost. So he swings his knife or axe, cuts the line over, and the World-snake sinks back into the billows and escapes.

Not only is the Mast highly interesting, but also the shape of YME's weapon and of THUR's Hammer. This latter

pagan growth, it could not lastingly remain the sign of the Christian Redeemer. The Lamb took its place.

But the Stag-symbol was too old and too deeply rooted entirely to disappear. So in the early middle-age in the West it was utilized with a new meaning, by help of a new interpretation. It became the sign of the Natural man, the Wandering and Wild and Worldly Soul, erring homeless in the thickets of care-filled time. The forest has many beasts. Hence the Stag and other wild animals tokened pagans or the unconverted. They were hunted by men and dogs — holy servants of Christ — till they were driven into the fold of the Church. This type of decoration and symbolism on Crosses and Grave-pillars and Fonts became common for some centuries, especially in Keltic lands. But it has long since past away.

¹⁾ See the masterly essay of Prof. Konr. Gislason »Om Navnet Ymir,« (Kjøbenhavn 1874, 4to, overprint from the Transactions of the Roy. Danish Soc. of Sciences). He here *proves*, as was first *suggested* by Prof. Sophus Bugge, that YMR — a better form than HYMR or EYMR — is etymologically connected with the M. Goth. fem. IUMYO *a crowd*, and also, as Prof. Gislason adds, with the N. I. YMISS = *AYE-MISS*, *never-meeting, always apart, multitudinous and ever changing*. Thus YM, with a masculine ending, would mean *the rude burly giant of Chaos*.

is not quite perfect on one side, as being close to the edge of the stone. The whole ship is costly; it is the oldest stone picture of a boat used by our «barbarian» Angle forefathers which has come down to us.

The Christian teacher has therefore said to his pagan countrymen: „Abandon your false belief. Even your famous God THUNOR could not slay the great Midgarth-Worm. But our CHRIST *did* bruise the Serpent's head, and hereafter He giveth us life everlasting!”

Anent the age of this fragment, the same arguments hold good as to the Gosforth Rood in the same churchyard. In my eyes it cannot be later than the 7th century. But whatever its date, it belongs to the very oldest memorials of our elders, and cannot possibly have been the result of a mish-mash fabricated by «Wikings» in the 9th or 10th year-hundred after Christ.

ST. PIERRE, MONMOUTHSHIRE, ENGLAND.

I believe that with the help of this new key — the Northern Mythology — we shall now be able to unlock and read many of the symbolical carvings, hitherto a mystery, on our oldest Scando-Gothic remains. As to the stone LÓKÉ, other examples may yet be found, in spite of the enormous destruction of these old-laves. Where monuments have largely suffered or engravings are not trustworthy, I decline to use them. But I can speak of what I have seen in July—August 1882. Thus on the very large and rude granite flat-relief Font in Kirkburn church, East Riding of Yorkshire, date 8th or 9th century, we have among other things, on the lower tier of symbols, the Holy Threeness (Triquetra) in a cartouche, vainly attackt by the HELL-DRAGON, the HELL-WOLF and the MIDGARTH-WORM. — On the largest remaining block of the 3 (? 8th century) Crosses or Pillars

at Ilkley, West Riding of Yorkshire, one of the 4 sides undoubtedly bears in relief the figure of Christ with Glory; below him are 3 separate compartments, in each of which is an overcome DRAGON or Worm.



Very remarkable is the St. Pierre tomb-stone, Monmouthshire, date about the middle of the 13th year-hundred. I copy it here (from E. L. Cutts, *Manual for the study of the Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of the Middle Ages*, 8vo. London 1849, pl. 52):

It shows us the Northern World-tree YGDRASIL (the Awful-bearer, the Woden-bearer), used as the Beam of Life, and budding into the Cross¹). On its stem and branches is the *Wise Eagle*, the *Watchful Hawk* VEPRFAULNIR (the WEATHER-FELER, the tempest hider, the storm calmer), another bird, and the *Messenger-Squirrel* RATA-TASK (the bough borer). At the

¹) In the Eddas, Nidhaugg in Nifheim (Gloom-home, Hell), beneath the Well Hvergelmir (Scream-kettle) whence all earth-waters flow, bites the more of Ygdrasil, the beam which towers up to the highest sky. So, in the ancient English Cross-legends publisht for the E. English Text Soc. by Dr. Morris, Seth saw in Paradise (p. 69 and elsewhere) — below the wondrous well whence run the 4 world-rivers — the root of the Forbidden Tree, that stood up

»And rechid on heght right to þe heuyn

And saw þe rotes of þat same tre,

Weterly (= truly) him thoght þai fell

In-to þe vtterest end of hell.«

foot of the tree is the *Dragon-snake* NIDHAUGG (the dark and deadly downhewer) biting away the root of this blessed Ash-Vine. But it falleth not in ruin, as Ygdrasil will on the great day of Doom (Ragnarauk), for it is firmly upheld by the DIVINE HAND (Christ), which grasps it high up, where it springs forth and buds into the Rood, above which are the wafers of the holy Sacrament.. Among the Scandinavian variations of this Ygdrasil-scene, the one nearest the carving here is that in the Prose Edda¹). — Never was Heathen-Christian symbolism more clear and more beautiful than on this (? Priest's) slab, so late in date!

The device of a Hand grasping a Cross-staff *piercing* a dragon, is not uncommon. Usually it is found on the tomb of an Ecclesiastic. But this stone is quite different. The Worm²) *gnaws* the *root* of the *tree*. And the deer-group I have not seen elsewhere. Such things cannot be only fanciful or ornamental. They are too special and peculiar, and have an independent meaning.

¹) »Much is to be said thereof [the Ash]; an eagle sits in the boughs of the Ash, and he is wise in much; but between his eyne sits the hawk hight Veþrfavlnir; the squirrel hight Ratatoskr runs up and down along the Ash, and bears words of hate betwixt the eagle and Niðhavgg (the dragon); and beside four harts run amid the branches of the Ash and bite the buds.« — *G. W. Dasent*, Younger Edda, p. 19.

²) The above St. Pierre stone is a variant to this local tradition. It bears yet another bird, and the 4 Harts are wanting; but, for these last there was apparently no room. — In »high« Romanized 7th century Northumbrian art the Yggdrasill Squirrel was only decorative; at least the many Squirrels on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses are mere Grape-eaters. Otherwise, from the Catacombs downwards, *Doves*, feeding among the foliage of the Christ-Vine, are in Christian symbolism Believers upheld here and hereafter by mystical union with the Redeemer.

BOCHERVILLE, NORMANDY.

I have to thank the kindness of my learned friend Dr. Sophus Müller for drawing my attention to this interesting piece. He made a rough sketch of it when in Paris, from a costly work of which no copy exists in Denmark. It is pl. 122 in "Ch. Nodier, T. Taylor et Alph. de Cailleux: Voyage pittor. et romant. dans l'ancienne France," impr. Didot, 1820, fol. 2 Vol. The curious carving is on a Capital in the Abbey Church of St. Georges, Bocherville, near Rouen. The book not being here I askt the help of Charles H. Read, Esq., of the British Museum, and with his usual courtesy he forwarded me a pencil copy of the plate, which is here photo-xylographed by I. F. Rosenstand:



There can be no doubt whatever as to the subject. It is THUNOR SLAYING THE MIDYARD-WORM. We see him Hammer in hand about to give the fatal blow: THUR overcame *and perisht*, but CHRIST-THUR is Victor and *lives for ever*.

Mr. Read adds in his note the information supplied by the printed text, that the deed of William of Normandy (the Conqueror) issued to Raoul de Tancarville, allowing the latter to erect the Abbey Buildings of St. Georges Bocherville, is signed by William *before* he was king of England. The date of this carving will therefore be about 1050. Let us now look for other such finds in Scandinavian Normandy.

LIME, SALLING, N. JUTLAND, DENMARK.

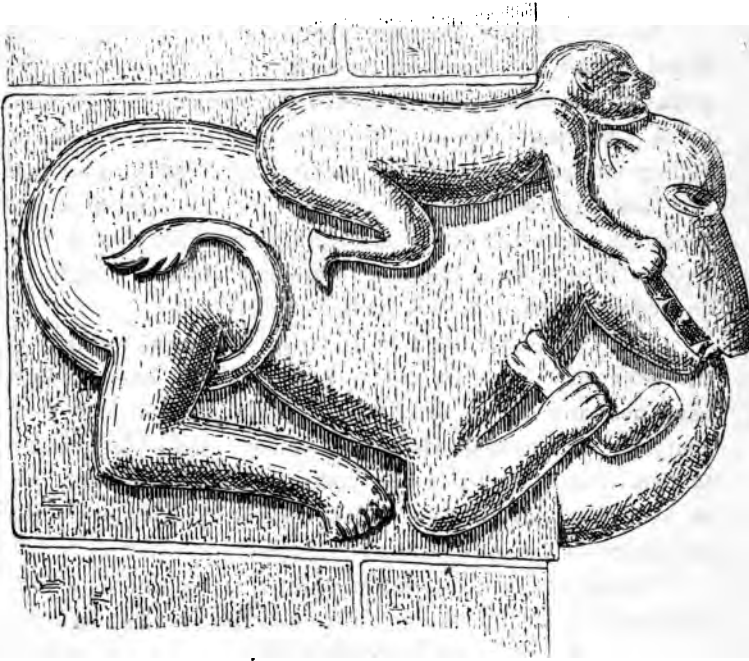
On the 12th of December 1882, at a meeting of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, I made some remarks on the stone monuments bearing heathen motives used for a Christian purpose now communicated. I ended by hoping for fresh examples in the Northern lands, now that this new mine was opened. Several of the Danish papers contained short reports of my lecture, and my appeal thus penetrated to the provinces. This has already brought us an additional page in this little lapidary book.

The Danish Architect F. Uldall of Randers, working at the expense of the Danish Cultus-Ministry, has minutely examined and made drawings of the Churches and their contents in Rødding Herred, Salling. His folio volume thereon, descriptive text and many valuable engravings, will as soon as convenient be given to the public, with the assistance of the Cultus-Ministry.

Among the curious carved objects in the Churches thus examined by Hr. Uldall is one which, after reading my observations, he recognized as undoubtedly bearing a heathen mythic representation in an evangelistic sense. It is a figure-block of granite in the S. E. corner of the Chancel in Limé Church, supposed to date from the 12th century. Its greatest breadth is about 37 inches, greatest height about 25 inches, and greatest thickness about 12. I of

course could not use this precious old-lave without the permission of His Excellency the Minister for Public Instruction, the Chamberlain J. F. Scavenius. Accordingly I askt the favor to be allowed to engrave the Architect's sketches of this sculpture. With great courtesy the Minister at once consented, an obligation for which I am most grateful. I therefore here lay them before my readers, Heliotyped by Pacht and Crone:

SEEN FROM THE SOUTH.



Herr Uldall's happy sagacity enabled him to identify the meaning of this group; for it is undoubtedly, as he has explained it in his letter to me, the episode already found on the Gosforth Cross (see p. 15 above), CHRIST-WIDAR SLAYING

THE FENRIS-WOLF by tearing open his jaws, in this way avenging the death of his father (W)oden.

Most interesting it is to see how this subject is here handled. The artist could not place Widar *before* the Wolf, as on the Gosforth Rood. There was no room here for this. So, in the naive and conventional manner familiar to us in olden art, the detail of the Shoe is necessarily omitted, and the mighty silent god is cut *on the back* of the hell-beast. But on the other hand we here see that the monster has destroyed (W)oden, whose head he has cruncht, while he still grasps the arms of the corpse. Widar outlived the earth-fall, and was the great champion in the new and better world. Thus he became a fitting emblem for that Almighty Lord who overcame Sin and Death, now ruling at the right hand of his Father.

For this *second* Danish pagan-Christian stone-picture, we all heartily thank Architect Uldall.

SEEN FROM THE EAST.



In now taking leave of these carved monuments (to which future finds or identifications will add others¹), I

¹) This moment (Nov. 1882) a fresh instance has occurred. The Rev. G. F. Browne, B. D., of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, has happily interpreted the never yet understood

cannot help pointing out the result of even a superficial study of the SYMBOLS used by the earliest Church in the West, compared with those of a later date. In the Catacombs and elsewhere well-known Classical motives — such as the Good Shepherd, Amphion, and the rest — are multitudinous *as blinds*, in a new and esoteric sense. To these are added scenes from the Biblical and Apocryphal books, often as pictures in a special evangelical typology. — With some things in common, a very different school of sculpture meets us in the Keltic lands. — But the moment Christianity reaches the Scando-Gothic populations, we find not only Classical and Keltic elements, but new types largely based on fixt national traditions. And these not, as in the Catacombs, mere common art-motives veiling another doctrine. On the contrary. The FACTS of Heathen Scandian God-lore, frankly *accepted* as facts, are used openly to interpret and expound the Christian Gospel. These pagan God-tales therefore *survive* into the Christian system, until the Church

carving on the one side, at the base, of the ancient Leeds Cross in Yorkshire. He has shown that the subject is WELAND (Wayland Smith, the Vaulund of Scandinavia) carrying off his bride HERVOR ALVITRA. His tools are at his feet. The Swan-may's wings are fastened to his belt, or perhaps they hang low down by ropes from her waist. Herself he has lifted up above his head, and he thus conventionally bears her to his home. This is a tale from the Hero-saga, is not directly heathen-mythic. It was probably cut where it stands, in consequence of the chieftain who *paid* for the Cross (or the Artist who *made* it) having boasted descent from the famous WELAND. For the same reason we have runish stones in Sweden, dating from the oldest Christian period (A. D. 1000—1050) carved with all the details of the SIGURD FAFNE'S-BANE Saga. Doubtless the deceased Swedish lords claimed to have sprung from his illustrious house. — Mr. Browne's lecture on this Leeds Cross, and on other British stone monuments, is sketched in the Cambridge University Reporter, Nov. 28, 1882.

grows strong enough to cast them out altogether. Later on, they are obsolete and forgotten, and must be dug up and explained by «pale-cheeked students.»

But the ORNAMENTATION. Generally speaking and as the broadest definition (endless interminglings and wanderings being understood), the Decorative motives of the former period are Foliage and Birds; — of the Keltic, Geometrical Patterns and tween-winding nondescripts; — of the Scando-Gothic group, Cable-work, Dragonesques and Monsters.

AFTERWRIT.

LECTURES. P. 295. Note, line 1:

For Swedish Riks-antiquary Hans Hildebrand *read* Swedish old-lorist Oscar Montelius.

P. 328. Continuation of Note:

— See the valuable notes of J. C. Thilo on Longinus, in his *Cod. Apoc. Novi Test.* I, p. CXLV, 586. — Nov. 1882. In Vol. 3 of «R. Garrucci, *Storia dell' Arte Cristiana*», 6 vols folio, Prato 1881, we have the drawings in this Syrian codex. Plate 139, No. 1, is the one referred-to by Gardthausen, which is also given in A. Zestermann's «*Die Kreuzigung bei den Alten*», Bruxelles 1868. In both engravings *both* the eyes of Longinus are *perfect*. — The crucifixion from the St. Gallen Ms. No. 51 is also engraved by J. R. Rahn, in his *Geschichte der Bildende Kunst in der Schweiz*, 8vo. Zürich 1876, p. 128. Here the eyes are fully given, as in Westwood.

P. 358. L. 3. Note:

- ¹⁾ Nov. 1882. — As to this Top-stone, also spoken of at p. 352, a simpler and shorter way is to *suppress it altogether*. This has been done by at least two learned men. — In his «*Anglo-Saxon Reader*» (Oxford 1876, whose 2nd ed. I have not seen) Mr. Henry Sweet, without printing anything on the Cross, says p. 169 that the poem in the Vercelli

Codex, parts of which are on the Ruthwell Pillar, was written by Cynewulf! After this surprising discovery, a joke or whim which he does not attempt to prove, he continues, that some lines of this lay are on the Ruthwell Rood »in the Old Northumbrian dialect of the eighth or ninth century.« We therefore now know, that the runic verses are by Cynewulf, not earlier than the 8th or 9th age. That the Cross itself should be so impertinent as to say CÆDMON ME MADE (whatever those words may mean) was of course no concern of Mr. Sweet's reader. It is therefore not even hinted at. — Next, in Prof. G. Zupitza's »Alt- und Mittel-englisches Übungsbuch« (2nd. ed. Wien 1882, the 1st ed. I have not seen), the Ruthwell runic inscriptions are printed p. 2 foll., without a word as to their date or authorship. However, curiously enough, the Cardonnel's Plate (which has the CÆDMON ME MADE) is expressly named among the materials which *the author says he has used*, the Topstone and its statement is *entirely ignored* by Prof. Zupitza. — But we must not complain. All this and much worse is now common enough. And it often goes under the name of »High Science.«

P. 381. Note to last line of text:

- 2) We have a rare symbol-variant of the Devil on an excessively antique Sarcophagus in the Cathedral of Ravenna. One section bears the Cross-monogram resting on a Vine-tendrill with leaves, placed triumphantly over the Behemoth of Job, ch. 40. See it engraved in R. Garrucci's *Arte Cristiana*, Vol. 5, pl. 337.

P. 383. Add to Note 2:

— In the old Basilica Vaticana, Rome, Pope John 7 built a little Chapel in honor of the Virgin. He adorned it with Mosaics, and the Dedication took place 706. The Mosaics, therefore, cannot have been later than this date. Pope Sixtus 4 (1471—84) began the destruction, which was completed by Pope Paul 5 (1605—21). We have nothing left of these works of art but bad drawings, made early in the 17th century. R. Garrucci has engraved these (*Storia dell' Arte Cristiana*, 6 vols folio, Prato 1881) in his Vol. 4, pl. 179, 180. The copies, however, *differ so largely*, that we cannot depend on any details. For instance, Pl. 179, No. 1, lowest compartment to the right, shows the Crucifixion. The feet are nailed separately, and the Saviour is draped.

On the right is the air-borne Christ in a Vesica, freeing happy souls from Hades. There is no «Hellmouth», only a hole in the earth. Under the Healer is *the upper half of a FREE winged human Devil, with short horns, rising from the abyss.* — Now in pl. 180 this section, on the contrary, shows *a winged and horned FREE man-fiend, lying his whole length flat on the ground.* This is surely a laughable discrepancy. Has the 17th century artist, as I suspect, *added or altered* the fiend-symbol, so as to give a Satan in harmony with the ideas of his own age? *If not*, this is the oldest HUMAN DEVIL known to me in Christian Art, as it is also the most antient picture I remember of THE HARROWING OF HELL, which cannot well have been invented by the copier. Yet there are differences even here, the one drawing having a whole group of the rescued, the other showing only one soul!

In a painting of the Last Day, 11th century, a winged Devil fettered with a long chain holds Judas in his arms. There is no Hell-mouth. See pl. 7 of D. Salazaro, *Studi sui Mon. della Italia Merid.* Part 1, folio.

Sometimes in the middle-age the Devil is called *Three-headed*, which Thilo thinks may have been a survival from the 3-headed Cerberus or Hecate, especially as demons were also figured as dogs, &c. See his *Codex Apoc.*, p. 729.

P. 386. Note¹), continuation:

Jan. 1883. — Dr. Quitzmann gives an interesting parallel to the Filing. Referring to Panzer, II, No. 69, Vernalaken, Alpensagen, p. 69, Waldfreund, *Zeitschr.*, IV, p. 203, and Alpenburg, *Tir. Myth.*, p. 252, he says that in Bavaria and Tyrol Lucifer is believed to be bound by a Chain, at which he is always filing. Accordingly, local superstition demands that every smith, when he leaves off work for the day, shall give a cold blow or two with his hammer on the anvil. Else Lucifer would break his fetter, and then the end of the world would be at hand. (A. Quitzmann, *Die heidnische Religion der Baiwaren.* Leipzig 1860. 8vo., p. 100).

P. 391. Add to Note 1:

— In England, as late as 1594, in the comedy «A Merry Knack to know a Knave» (W. C. Hazlitt, *Old English Plays*, vol. 6, London 1874, p. 577), Dunstan, invoking the Devil Astoroth, says:

»I charge thee, by the eternal living God,

That keeps the prince of darkness BOUND IN CHAINS.«

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